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ABSTRACT

This monograph analyzes the effects of recent trends in immigration from foreign countries and migration from Puerto Rico on the makeup of the City University of New York (CUNY) student body and provides preliminary assessments of related educational needs. An introduction describes the research for the study which included census data, other federal and city government statistics, surveys of CUNY administrators, and roundtable discussions with faculty, students, and community leaders. Part 1, which includes three sub-sections, examines the recent changes in the profile of CUNY students, discusses the likely changes that will take place during the current decade, and assesses the ways in which current foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born first-time freshmen students differ from current native-born freshmen. Part 2 considers how increases in the number of immigrant and migrant students will affect academic programs and support-service needs. Part 3 profiles the main country of origin of 10 groups at CUNY and describes how these groups are distributed across the city. Part 3 also includes information on the historical background of immigrant trends. Appendixes contain data, lists of panel participants, other research findings on immigrant communities, and a list of countries and territories where CUNY students have studied at the secondary level. (Contains 95 references.) (JB)

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The City University of New York
Winter 1995

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The City University of New York
535 East Eightieth Street
New York, New York 10021

The Chancellor

Winter, 1995

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

It is my pleasure to provide you with a copy of a research study conducted by The City University of New York entitled "IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION AND THE CUNY STUDENT OF THE FUTURE." The study analyzes the effect of recent trends in immigration from foreign countries and migration from Puerto Rico on the makeup of CUNY's student body and provides preliminary assessments of educational needs. This initiative is one of numerous activities under way at CUNY to meet the educational aspirations of **all** of our students, native-born and immigrant, female and male, traditional-aged and older, coming from a wide range of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. We treasure the pluralism and diversity of CUNY students who are the primary future source of talent, energy, and leadership of our City and State.

Two particularly striking observations are reported in the study: by the year 2000 at least 50% of CUNY first-time freshmen will have been born abroad or in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. At the present time, at least half of CUNY's student population is bilingual or capable of becoming so with a minimum of effort. In a competitive job market, the ability to speak, read, and write a second language will give CUNY graduates an important edge that no other university in the country can surpass.

During the five-year period between 1982 and 1987, over 500,000 immigrants settled in New York City, roughly one-half from Latin America and the Caribbean and one-quarter from Asia. In addition, 130,000 undocumented aliens applied for residency status as a result of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1986, and, more recently, large numbers of Eastern Europeans have settled in the City. Currently, New York City's foreign-born population stands at 2 million, perhaps the most numerous of any city in the country.

Many new arrivals turn to CUNY for the education that holds the key to their success in this country. The report indicates that the coming years will challenge us, once again, to rethink our educational offerings and reshape our support services to reflect the changing character and needs of our students. We must do this, moreover, while confronting continuing financial and resource constraints, and **we must succeed**. The future social and economic well-being of New York City and State depends upon the University's ability to enroll and educate recent arrivals, while also continuing to serve the thousands of resident New Yorkers who traditionally have come to CUNY colleges.

I would like to thank the many individuals who contributed to this report, including the staff of the Offices of Academic Affairs, University Relations and Student Affairs, numerous scholars and experts from the CUNY faculty, as well as the institutional and community representatives and students who participated in the panels we held to discuss the issues covered by this study.

It is our intention to convene a major conference in 1995, to discuss the findings of this report and to formulate a plan of action to meet the needs of our recently-arrived students. Your reactions and comments are very much valued.

I invite you to analyze this report and to help us realize the aspirations of our students as we enter the twenty-first century. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

W Ann Reynolds

W. Ann Reynolds

Chancellor

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION AND THE CUNY STUDENT OF THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

This study is in response to Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds' charge to "anticipate and evaluate the impact of immigration from foreign countries and migration from Puerto Rico on the characteristics and educational needs of the CUNY student body in the year 2000." The historic mission of The City University of New York has been to provide access to higher education of the highest quality for students from all backgrounds, including individuals from all ethnic and racial groups and from both sexes. CUNY is of vital and special importance as a vehicle for the upward social, economic, and educational mobility of the disadvantaged. In the 1920s and the 1930s, CUNY fulfilled this mission by educating children of the immigrants who arrived in New York in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The current resurgence of immigration challenges the University once again. Migrants from Puerto Rico who are, of course, U.S. citizens are included in this study because as non-native speakers of English, they face many of the same educational issues as immigrants.

PART I: THE CHANGING PROFILE OF CUNY STUDENTS

A. The Changing Demography of CUNY Students

The changes in first-time freshmen at CUNY over the 1980-1990 decade are striking, and, not surprisingly, parallel many changes in the New York City population. The most important of these changes, both for CUNY and for New York City, resulted from the large inflow of immigrants during the decade which greatly increased the proportion of the foreign-born New York City population. While limitations in the University's admissions records make it impossible to determine directly the change in percentage of foreign-born students at CUNY during the 1980s, it is clear that the proportion who were not US citizens rose substantially, indicating that CUNY, too, has experienced an increase in immigrant students during these years.

The change in the racial/ethnic distribution of CUNY students is clearly related to this immigrant flow and reflects corresponding changes in the New York City population, with non-Hispanic white students declining as a proportion of the whole, non-Hispanic black students maintaining a roughly constant proportion of the student body, and the proportions of Hispanic and Asian students rising significantly.

Most notably, recent immigration has altered the distribution of the country of origin of both the New York City population and of our students. More students in 1990 than in 1980

mention the countries of Asia and Central and South America in describing their backgrounds, and fewer mention Puerto Rico and the countries of Western Europe and Africa. Further, the countries from which our current foreign-born students come are the same countries that account for significant proportions of New York City immigration over the past decade.

Finally, the varied settlement patterns of immigrants across the boroughs of New York City mean that the exact way in which immigration affects individual CUNY institutions differs from college to college.

B. The CUNY Student of the Future

CUNY students in the year 2000 will differ somewhat from our current students, just as our current students differ from those in 1980. The most important changes observed in the decade of the 1980s — that an ever larger proportion of our students has been born outside of the United States and that the country of origin of these students has changed in response to changing patterns of immigration — are likely to continue in the decade of the 1990s. **Extrapolating current trends, we estimate that more than half of CUNY first-time freshmen in the year 2000 will have been born outside of the United States or in Puerto Rico.**

In addition, the proportions of immigrant and migrant students from various countries will be different in 2000 from 1990. Although the scale of immigration is likely to increase for all groups, the rate of growth will differ for different country of origin groups. These variations will be influenced by factors such as US immigration law, economic and political conditions around the world, and the economic climate of New York City.

C. How Do Foreign-Born Students Differ from US-Born Students?

To obtain insight about how predicted changes in the proportion of our students who are foreign-born will affect the academic and support services that need to be provided in the year 2000, we assessed the ways in which current foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born first-time freshmen students differ from current US-born students. A basic fact, of course, is that foreign-born and Puerto Rican students are highly heterogenous, varying in their academic as well as socio-economic backgrounds, their degree of cultural assimilation, and their mastery of English. Still, some generalizations can be made. Foreign-born students are older than their native-born counterparts, their parents have lower levels of educational attainment, they are more likely to have a General Equivalency Diploma, they have more difficulty reading and writing in English, and they are somewhat more proficient in mathematics. On the other hand, the degree aspirations of foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students are very much the same as those of US-born students. In addition, foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students are more likely than are their native-born counterparts to make use of the various support services offered by the colleges.

PART II: ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS AND STUDENTS FROM PUERTO RICO

We relied upon surveys of CUNY college administrators and of members of the various ethnic groups represented at CUNY to assess the educational and support service needs of foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students. We learned a great deal about the need for adequate English language assessment and placement; the desire on the part of non-native students to enter mainstream classes as early in their careers as possible; the need for cultural orientation and for counseling to help foreign-born students integrate with both the social and academic society that they have recently joined; the need to rethink aspects of the standard curriculum and, in some cases, to shape programs to take advantage of the talents and knowledge new students bring with them; the need for academic and career counseling; and the need for additional tutoring, especially in subject matter courses, once the ESL sequence has been completed. In addition, respondents stress the importance of faculty and staff development programs to better prepare CUNY personnel to respond to the educational needs of immigrant students.

PART III: PROFILES OF 10 IMMIGRANT CATEGORIES AND THEIR SUBCATEGORIES

In order to achieve a more nuanced understanding of our current and future immigrant students, detailed profiles are presented of the 10 demographic groups that are the subject of much of the analysis in this report: Africans, Asians, anglophone and francophone Caribbeans, Dominicans, Eastern Europeans, Italians, Middle Easterners, Island-born Puerto Ricans, South and Central Americans, and Western Europeans. These profiles are based on data from the 1990 Census of Population for New York City and provide demographic, residential, economic, and labor market information about each of the 10 groups, as well as a brief historical overview. In addition, similar detailed information is provided for some of the larger components of each group.

IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION AND THE CUNY STUDENT OF THE FUTURE

The City University of New York

Winter 1995

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Part I of this report was prepared by Dr. Linda Edwards, Professor of Economics at Queens College and the Graduate School and University Center and Faculty Fellow in the CUNY Office of Academic Affairs, in collaboration with Ms. Caroline Ishikawa, Coordinator of Academic Information. Part II was the product of a collaborative effort that involved Dr. Edwards, Ms. Eve Zarin, Dr. Barbara Astone, Dr. Elsa Nuñez-Wormack, and Dr. Robert A. Picken. Dr. John Mollenkopf, Professor of Political Science at the Graduate School and University Center, in collaboration with Professor Phil Kasinitz and Mr. Matthew Lindholm prepared Part III, while students of Professor Mollenkopf provided support.

Among those who helped in the gathering of information and in the formulation of findings were Ms. Sandra Schaefer and the Office of Community Relations; Mr. Paul Perkus and the Central Office Library; Dean James Murtha and the Office of Information Services; Dr. Audrey Blumberg, Mr. David Crook, Professor David Lavin, Dr. Nava Lehrer and the Office of Institutional Research; Dean Angelo Proto and the Office of Student Services. Dr. Picken, Ms. Zarin, Mr. Paul Arpaia, Ms. Virginia Slaughter and Ms. Marilyn Maiz of the Office of Academic Affairs provided editorial assistance.

Overall supervision of the project was provided by Dr. Richard M. Freeland, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Dr. Elsa Nuñez-Wormack, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, and Mr. Jay Hershenson, Vice Chancellor for University Relations.

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IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION AND THE CUNY STUDENT OF THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

The historic mission of The City University of New York has been to maintain and expand academic excellence and to provide equal access and opportunity for students, faculty, and staff from all ethnic and racial groups and from both sexes.[1] CUNY is of vital and special importance as a vehicle for the upward social, economic, and educational mobility of the disadvantaged. Since its beginnings in 1847 as the Free Academy, and particularly in the early part of the twentieth century, CUNY has fulfilled this mission in part by educating large numbers of immigrants and children of immigrants who came to New York City.* The resurgence of immigration in recent years and the likelihood of future college enrollment increases were the principal reasons why Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds commissioned this study to "anticipate and evaluate the impact of immigration from foreign countries and migration from Puerto Rico on the characteristics and educational needs of the CUNY student body in the year 2000."

The economic development and prosperity of New York City and its metropolitan area depend now, more than ever, on education to prepare students for a changing economy. The transformation in the nature of work demands a well-educated workforce, and CUNY is a critical vehicle for providing higher education to that workforce. In the past, anyone with a high school diploma, or even an eighth-grade education, could be assured that with hard work, he or she would be able to earn a living and to support a family. Today, this is more difficult. Studies of the changes in the income distribution in the US over the past decade have documented the fact that the real income of those who have no college education has fallen; only those with more than a high school diploma have improved their standard of living.[2] Education affects more than wage levels: to get and to hold a job requires more skills and training than in the past. Those with low

*For example, Rudy writes of City College, "The College had always been a sensitive weather vane, reflecting the main tendencies in the life of the city and nation. The change in the nature of its student body coincided with a change in the composition of the population of the city..." S. Willis Rudy, The College of the City of New York: A History, 1847-1947 (New York: Arno Press, 1977) 293. See also Selma C. Berrol, Getting Down to Business (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); Sherry Gorelick, City College and the Jewish Poor (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1989); Thomas Kessner, The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City 1880-1915 (New York: Oxford UP, 1977).

levels of education are disproportionately represented among the unemployed. When one examines the changes in occupation distribution in New York City between 1980 and 1990, one finds that professional, management and technical jobs (which require a college education) increased by over 30%, whereas blue-collar manufacturing jobs shrank by just under 30%.[3] This upgrading is also evident in a 1993 survey of top executives in important New York City industries. When asked about the educational requirements for most entry-level jobs in their firms in the next four years, over half specified a bachelor's degree or higher.[4] Manufacturing may have provided the economic underpinning of the New York City economy in the past, but in the future the service industries will play this role.

In addition, the complexity of modern society has raised the educational level required of those who wish to function successfully and be productive. Even the meaning of literacy has expanded and become more encompassing. The recent National Adult Literacy Survey defined literacy as "using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential."[5] The survey questions reveal just what this means in today's society—reading train schedules, balancing checkbooks, and reading prose to extract the essence of the text. Against this standard, of those in the sample with a high school diploma, at most 13% performed in the top two literacy classes on this national test; of those with a two-year degree or four-year college degree, the corresponding proportions ranged from 28% to 50%. It is clear that the skills needed to negotiate modern life and to be a responsible citizen require higher levels of education now than at any time in the past. Similarly, access to a comprehensive liberal arts education is inextricably linked to the development of leadership skills and the power of individuals to change their social and economic conditions. In an increasingly technological society, liberal arts preparation is essential to upward mobility.

At the same time as the need for education has increased, shifts have occurred in the demographic make up of New York City. New York has always been a city of immigrants, and throughout the twentieth century, foreign-born residents have comprised a significant proportion of the New York City population, ranging from a high of 43% in 1930 to a low of 18% in 1970. From its 1970 low, immigration to the United States (and to the City) expanded dramatically and

is as great now as at any time in our history—and almost 15% of these immigrants settle in New York City.* By 1990, the proportion of foreign-born City residents had grown to nearly 30% [Appendix Table 1]. It represents a continuing challenge to the New York City public schools and to CUNY to provide the education that will integrate new Americans into our society and economy. To meet this challenge, we need to have an understanding of their diverse backgrounds and of their special needs.

The historic role of CUNY has been to provide the path for upward mobility for New Yorkers, to prepare them to contribute to New York's economy, and to help them become informed and active citizens of our great city; it is a role the University is preparing to continue in the coming decade. The aim of this document is to examine closely current trends in the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of CUNY students, who have been born abroad or in Puerto Rico, and trends in immigration and migration, so as better to identify and prepare for changes in the composition of the student body between now and the year 2000. We must be alert not only to the challenges these students may pose to our institution, but also to the opportunities they will assuredly offer—opportunities to enhance and to enrich the education we provide to all CUNY students.

This report consists of an introduction and three parts. The first part, which includes three sub-sections, examines in detail the recent changes in the profile of CUNY students and discusses the likely changes that will take place during the current decade. The second part considers how predicted increases in the number of immigrant and migrant students will affect academic programs and support-service needs. Part III provides profiles of the main country of origin groups at CUNY taken from the 1990 Census of Population and describes how these groups are distributed across the boroughs of New York City. Part III also includes historical background on immigrant trends for the larger immigrant groups and for Puerto Ricans. After a preliminary survey of the material in Parts II and III, campus readers will probably want to study these sections in depth in conjunction with the discussion from Part I of the distribution of the major immigrant groups at each college.

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* *Data on US immigration came from US Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1991 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1992) Table 1. 14.5% of all immigrants between 1982 and 1989 settled in the City. The Newest New Yorkers: An Analysis of Immigration into New York City During the 1980s (New York: Department of City Planning, [1992]) Table 2-1.*

In preparing this report, we have attempted to be as comprehensive and inclusive as possible. We have consulted a broad variety of data sources, from the US Censuses of Population and the various publications of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service, to the New York City Department of City Planning, to CUNY's own Office of Institutional Research. We have surveyed the work of the many research institutes and centers of CUNY and incorporated their work wherever possible. We have also consulted scholars outside of CUNY and incorporated their findings. We have surveyed the Vice Presidents for Student Affairs and the Chief Academic Officers of all of the constituent CUNY colleges. Finally, we have held a series of roundtable discussions with faculty, students, and community leaders, one for each of the major immigrant groups that are represented at CUNY as well as for Puerto Rico, in order to get first-hand advice about the characteristics and needs of the specific groups served by the University.* These panels were especially helpful in pinpointing the particular needs of these groups, while, at the same time, highlighting the essential fact that many of our students have common problems, no matter what their backgrounds.

While our report focuses on New York City and on CUNY, many of the changes we document and the needs we describe are found on campuses all around the country. Increased immigration and the necessity to integrate students from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the need to deal with a broad range of student ability and preparation, and the difficulties in financing the services required by these diverse groups—these are issues that arise in discussions among officers of institutions of higher learning in all states.** They have generated a substantial literature which we have consulted with the goal of learning as much as possible from the experiences of other institutions.

* *A list of panel participants can be found in Appendix II.*

** *A nationwide profile of the freshman class of Fall, 1993 is presented in "This Year's Freshmen: a Statistical Profile." The Chronicle of Higher Education 40:21 (January 26, 1994) A30-31. It illustrates that CUNY students are in many respects similar to students throughout the United States.*

PART I

THE CHANGING PROFILE OF CUNY STUDENTS

A. THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHY

The New York City Population, 1980-1990

CUNY draws most of its students from New York City and its environs. Thus, documenting the changes in the demographic characteristics of New York City's population is an important first step toward understanding the changing demographic characteristics of CUNY students. We begin by examining some of the dramatic changes in the City's population over the 1980-1990 decade.*

The most striking changes result from the increase in immigration during this period. Immigration to the United States during the 1980-1990 decade was almost as high as in the early part of this century, and approximately 15% of these immigrants settled in New York City. As a consequence, the number of foreign-born New Yorkers increased by 24.7% during the decade, so that by 1990 foreign-born New Yorkers accounted for almost 30% of the population.** Put differently, 45.8% of all the foreign born in the City arrived in the 1980-90 decade. Reflecting the same phenomenon is the increase in the number of New Yorkers who speak a language other than English at home, an increase at the rate of 19.3% (from 35.5% in 1980 to 41.0% in 1990).

These new immigrants have come to New York City for many of the same economic and political reasons that drew their European predecessors one hundred years ago. War and political repression, the globalization of the world economy, and uneven economic development outside of the advanced economies have generated trans-border population flows. As a principal node on the

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** Most of the data described in this section come from Socioeconomic Profiles. A Portrait of New York City's Community Districts from the 1980 and 1990 Census of Population and Housing (New York: Department of City Planning, 1993).*

*** To put this figure in some perspective, see Appendix Table 1. The breakdown of the 1990 New York City population is: 71.5% of the population were native-born (65% born in the US, 5.6% born in outlying areas, and .9% born outside of the US of American parents), and 28.4% were foreign-born (11.8% were naturalized citizens and 16.6% were not). The figures do not sum to exactly 100% because of rounding. See Susan J. Lapham, "The Foreign Born Population in the United States: 1990," United States Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Ethnic and Hispanic Branch (CPH-L-98) (Washington, D.C., 1993) Table 8.*

trading routes of the globe and central to one of the world's largest and richest regional markets, New York City often provides far better economic opportunities than do the sending countries. Air transportation has made it easier than ever before for immigrants to make the trip, while advanced telecommunications make it possible to stay in touch with the home country and maintain the familial networks that facilitate decisions to emigrate. The export of United States cultural products—TV, film, music, advertising—makes our country seem ever more accessible, and such cultural products provide symbols for the aspirations of the poor as well as for those of middle-class entrepreneurs and professionals.

The three largest immigrant groups to arrive in New York City in the 1980s were those from the anglophone and francophone Caribbean, those from Spanish-speaking countries, and those from Asia. Of the 898,213 documented immigrants into New York City between 1982 and 1991, 28% came from countries in the anglophone and francophone Caribbean (Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados), 25.9% came from Spanish-speaking countries in the Caribbean, Mexico, and South and Central America (the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Peru, and El Salvador; and 20.2% came from Asian countries), China, India, Korea, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

The new immigrants of the 1980s reversed the decades-long decline in the City's population and generated notable changes in its racial/ethnic characteristics [Appendix Table 2]. Between 1980 and 1990 the overall population of the City grew by 3.5%, but certain groups grew much faster than others. The Hispanic population, for example, grew by almost 27%, and in 1990 accounted for 24% of New York City's population (as compared to about 20% in 1980). The Asian population grew by an even larger percentage, over 120% (starting from a much lower base), and in 1990 accounted for 7% of the City's population, up from 3% in 1980. During the same period, the Black non-Hispanic population rose by 9%, and the White non-Hispanic population fell by 14%.

The CUNY Student: 1980, 1990, and 1992

The ethnic and racial changes in the New York City population documented above are reflected in the CUNY student body, which includes the same new immigrant groups that are found in the City at large. We focus here on newly-entering CUNY students, either first-time

freshmen or new transfer students from outside of CUNY, because the most complete data are available for these students.* Every student at CUNY will appear once in CUNY data as either a first-time freshman or a new transfer student from outside of CUNY. Thus, by looking at these two categories of students, the characteristics of all CUNY students can be assessed. An advantage to analyzing new entrants to CUNY rather than total enrollments is that changes in the student body appear most quickly in data for new entering students.

Foreign-Born Students at CUNY. Recent immigration trends have caused the proportion of foreign-born residents of New York City to increase from 23.6% to 28.4% over the past decade. Similar changes are evident in the CUNY student body. In fact, since immigrants tend to be disproportionately young, the foreign-born constitute a larger proportion of CUNY students than of the overall New York City population: in 1990 and 1992, for example, the proportions of CUNY freshmen who were foreign born were 33.2% and 41.0%, respectively. It is not possible to compare these figures directly with data for 1980 because information on place of birth was not collected from CUNY students that year. However, there is some indirect information on citizenship status that can be examined. The proportion of freshmen who were not US citizens (those who were permanent residents, non-resident aliens, or undocumented aliens) comprised 22.3% of freshmen students in 1980, 33.8% in 1990, and 36.3% by 1992 [Appendix Table 3]. These figures translate to about a 24% increase in the number of non-citizen students over the decade. Analogous changes are also evident for new transfer students [Appendix Table 3]. The increase over this period in the number of foreign-born students is likely to be of a similar order of magnitude.

Racial/Ethnic Background. Recent immigration trends cited above have altered the racial/ethnic background characteristics of CUNY students, just as they have for the New York City population as a whole. Data on the racial/ethnic background of first-time freshmen are shown in Table 1.**

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* *Except where otherwise noted, all of the CUNY data in this report pertain to students who first enter CUNY in the Fall semester.*

** *Many of the tables in this report present statistics not only for all CUNY colleges combined, but also separately for senior colleges and community colleges. The text discussion, however, focuses on the statistics for all CUNY colleges combined.*

TABLE 1
RACIAL/ ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN

	1980*		1990		1980 to 1990	1992	
	Pop.	Dist.	Pop.	Dist.	Pop.Change	Pop.	Dist.
Total University:	31,582	99.9%	27,006	100.0%		26,233	100.0%
White, Non-Hispanic	10,296	32.6%	7,751	28.7%	-24.7%	7,057	26.9%
Black, Non Hispanic	10,612	33.6%	9,020	33.4%	-15.0%	8,972	34.2%
Hispanic	8,875	28.1%	7,211	26.7%	-18.7%	7,162	27.3%
Asian	1,642	5.2%	2,971	11.0%	80.1%	3,017	11.5%
Other	126	0.4%	54	0.2%	-57.1%	26	0.1%
Senior Colleges:	18,013	99.9%	14,411	100.0%		13,250	100.2%
White, Non-Hispanic	6,359	35.3%	4,756	33.0%	-25.2%	4,081	30.8%
Black, Non Hispanic	5,962	33.1%	4,222	29.3%	-29.2%	3,962	29.9%
Hispanic	4,377	24.3%	3,415	23.7%	-21.8%	3,273	24.7%
Asian	1,225	6.8%	1,989	13.8%	62.3%	1,934	14.6%
Other	72	0.4%	29	0.2%	-59.7%	26	0.2%
Community Colleges:	13,569	100.1%	12,595	100.1%		12,983	100.0%
White, Non-Hispanic	3,962	29.2%	2,998	23.8%	-24.3%	2,986	23.0%
Black, Non Hispanic	4,668	34.4%	4,799	38.1%	2.8%	5,011	38.6%
Hispanic	4,464	32.9%	3,791	30.1%	-15.1%	3,895	30.0%
Asian	434	3.2%	982	7.8%	126.3%	1,078	8.3%
Other	54	0.4%	38	0.3%	-29.6%	13	0.1%

* The 1980 data are from an ethnic census survey. The category for Asians in 1980 was Oriental; Blacks and Whites may include people with Hispanic ancestry.

TABLE 2
RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN AND TRANSFER STUDENTS FROM OUTSIDE OF CUNY, FALL 1992

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	First-Time Freshmen	Transfer Students	First-Time Freshmen	Transfer Students	First-Time Freshmen	Transfer Students
White, Non-Hispanic	26.9%	40.9%	30.8%	46.3%	23.0%	28.3%
Black, Non-Hispanic	34.2%	27.0%	29.9%	24.8%	38.6%	32.0%
Hispanic	27.3%	16.8%	24.7%	14.4%	30.0%	22.5%
Asian	11.5%	15.2%	14.6%	14.4%	8.3%	17.1%
Other	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	.2%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.2%	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%
Total Respondents	26,233	6,176	13,250	4,337	12,983	1,839

The change in the composition of CUNY freshmen over the 1980-1990 period is similar to the changes in the overall racial/ethnic composition of the City, but there are differences (possibly arising in part because CUNY students are predominantly young adults while New York City data pertain to the entire age spectrum).* Among first-time freshmen at CUNY, the proportions of White non-Hispanic students and of "other" races fell, while those of Asians grew, as in the general population. On the other hand, Black non-Hispanic students and Hispanic students maintained approximately the same representation in both years, while the proportion of these groups in the general population fell. Note that the 1980-1990 trends for the various racial/ethnic groups at CUNY extend into the current decade, as is clear in the enrollment data for 1992.

The racial/ethnic distribution of transfer students from outside of CUNY is slightly different from that of first-time freshmen. Looking at data for 1992 [Table 2], transfer students from outside CUNY are more likely than first-time freshmen to be White non-Hispanic and Asian, and less likely to be Black non-Hispanic and Hispanic.

** In contrast to the entire New York City population, which grew over the decade by 3.5%, the number of teenagers between the ages of 16 and 19 and the number of CUNY freshmen both fell by about 15%.*

Country of Ancestry and the Role of Immigration. To gain a richer understanding of the impact that immigration has had on student background, we examined how the ancestry of CUNY entering students has changed over the decade. Entering CUNY students are asked to identify the country or part of the world from which they or their families originally came. From responses to this question it is possible to get a sense of the ancestry of CUNY students. We refer to their responses to this question as their "country of identity." (Appendix I provides detailed information about the wording of the question, and about CUNY data in general.)*

Table 3 shows the percentage of CUNY first-time freshmen by country of origin for the years 1980, 1990 and 1992, and Table 4 compresses this somewhat unwieldy information into 10 country-of-origin groups. The groups and the countries that comprise them are: **Asia** (China, Hong Kong, India, the Philippines, South Korea, and "other" Asian countries), **the Dominican Republic**, **Puerto Rico**, **"Other" Caribbean** (all Caribbean countries excluding the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico), **Mexico/South and Central America** (Colombia, Ecuador, and "other" South/Central American countries), **Eastern Europe** (Poland and the countries of the former Soviet Union), **Italy, Western Europe** (excluding Italy, the former Soviet Union, and Poland), the **Middle East** (Israel and "other" Middle East), and **Africa**.

A number of striking changes are evident when CUNY first-time freshmen are tracked by condensed groupings of the country of identity [Table 4].** The most noticeable increase over the period is for Asians, whose proportion went from 7% in 1980, to 13.4% in 1990, to 12.3% in 1992. Increases are also recorded for students from the Dominican Republic, from "other" Caribbean countries, from Mexico, and South and Central America, and from Eastern Europe. Decreases are reported for students whose ancestry is from Puerto Rico, Italy, Western Europe, and Africa.

** Note that not all students answer this question; students of mixed backgrounds who identify with more than one country, or those who choose to answer "US" (which is not included in the list of possible responses), are likely to account for most of the nonrespondents, between 20% and 28% of those asked (depending on the year). Thus, the discussion below applies only to those students who can still clearly identify their "roots" outside of the United States.*

*** Some caution must be exercised in interpreting these data as 1992 is not completely comparable with the previous two years: the data for 1980 and 1990 are taken from surveys of a (non-random) sample of freshmen; the 1992 data are taken from the CUNY application form, which is completed by all freshmen.*

The ancestry of transfer students from outside CUNY differs in some respects from that of first-time freshmen. Information for these students for 1992 (earlier data are not available) shows that they are more likely to be from Eastern and Western Europe, "other" Caribbean, and Asia, and less likely to be from Central and South America and the Dominican Republic [Appendix Table 4]. For example, while 5.4% of first-time freshmen in 1992 cited Eastern Europe, this area was cited by 14.2% of new transfer students; on the other hand, 23.5% of first-time freshmen cite the "other" Caribbean countries, whereas only 16.5% of new transfer students cite these countries.

To see better the role of immigration in these changes, it is useful to examine separately the ancestry of students born in the United States (excluding Puerto Rico) and those born either outside of the United States or in Puerto Rico. Table 5 contains data by location of birth for the same country-of-identity groups as Table 4, but for 1990 and 1992 only (comparable data are not available for 1980). Table 5 makes it clear how immigration has changed the profile of the CUNY student. Focusing first on the data for 1990, among students born in the US (excluding Puerto Rico) who identified their ancestry, the largest proportions (almost 24%) specify Puerto Rico, with Western Europe and Italy second and third (each at about 18%) and "other" Caribbean fourth (at about 11%). Many of these students are children of immigrants, and their ancestry reflects the country of origin of earlier waves of immigrants and migrants to New York City. For students born outside of the US or on the island of Puerto Rico, these proportions are dramatically different, reflecting the immigration and migration trends of the past decade. The largest proportion is from the "other" Caribbean (27%), with Asia second (23%), Mexico/South and Central America as a distant third (12.5%), and the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico in fourth and fifth place (both with about 10%). For 1992, these general patterns hold, although there are some changes in ranking.

Foreign-born transfer students come from somewhat different areas. In particular, foreign-born transfer students are much more likely to be from Eastern Europe (19.8% of foreign-born transfer students as compared to 7.3% of foreign-born first-time freshmen), Asia (25.8% versus 20.1%) or the "other" Caribbean (23.1% versus 32.9%), and less likely to be from the Dominican Republic (5.3% versus 11.6%), or South or Central America (8.4% versus 11.7%) [Table 5 and Appendix Table 5].

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

	Total University			Senior Colleges			Community Colleges		
	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992
ASIA	7.0	13.4	12.3	8.6	15.4	15.6	4.8	9.4	8.8
China	3.0	6.6	3.7	4.1	8.3	5.6	1.5	4.4	1.7
Hong Kong	-	-	1.7	-	-	2.3	-	-	1.0
India	-	1.3	1.5	-	1.6	1.8	-	1.0	1.2
The Philippines	-	1.0	1.2	-	1.2	1.1	-	0.8	1.3
S. Korea	-	1.0	1.1	-	1.3	1.5	-	0.6	0.6
Other Asian	4.0	3.5	3.2	4.5	4.0	3.3	3.3	2.6	3.0
EUROPE	29.8	24.8	22.4	32.6	29.9	25.1	26.2	18.7	19.7
Germany	2.4	1.8	1.6	2.5	2.1	1.9	2.3	1.5	1.3
Greece	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.4	0.8	1.2
Ireland	4.5	3.4	3.2	5.0	3.7	3.6	3.9	2.9	2.7
Italy	11.6	8.8	7.7	12.2	11.5	8.4	10.9	5.5	7.0
Poland	2.2	1.1	1.2	2.5	1.5	1.4	1.8	0.7	1.0
The Soviet Union	2.8	4.6	4.2	3.3	5.2	4.4	2.1	3.9	3.9
Other European	4.8	3.7	3.0	5.5	4.0	3.5	3.8	3.4	2.6
THE MIDDLE EAST	-	1.6	2.2	-	2.2	2.6	-	0.8	1.6
Israel	-	0.9	1.1	-	1.2	1.4	-	0.4	0.8
Other Middle East	-	0.7	1.0	-	1.0	1.2	-	0.4	0.8
CARIBBEAN, MEXICO, CENTRAL & S. AMERICA	53.2	56.2	54.9	49.1	48.3	49.7	58.5	65.8	60.6
Colombia	2.5	2.7	2.4	1.6	2.1	1.9	3.7	3.4	2.9
Ecuador	2.3	2.6	2.6	1.8	2.1	2.4	3.1	3.1	2.7
Other S. & Cen. America	-	5.5	5.0	-	4.5	4.5	-	6.9	5.6
The Dominican Republic	7.0	9.7	8.9	5.1	8.1	7.8	9.4	11.5	10.1
Guyana	3.2	3.9	-	3.2	3.7	-	3.3	4.0	
Haiti	4.0	5.6	5.7	4.3	4.7	5.9	3.7	6.6	5.4
Jamaica	6.1	5.6	7.0	5.9	4.1	5.6	6.2	7.4	8.6
Puerto Rico	19.9	14.9	12.7	18.5	13.8	11.8	21.7	16.2	13.7
Trinidad	-	2.5	3.2	-	2.2	2.8	-	3.0	3.6
Other Caribbean	1.6	3.9	3.7	1.5	3.5	3.3	1.7	4.4	4.0
Other Latin America	9.8	-	-	10.4	-	-	9.0	-	-
AFRICA	10.0	4.0	2.6	9.5	3.2	2.1	10.5	4.9	3.3
USA, AUSTRALIA, CANADA	-	-	5.5	-	-	4.8	-	-	6.1
TOTAL	100%	100%	99.9%	99.8%	99%	99.9%	100%	199.6%	100.1%
Total First-Time Freshmen	31,582	27,006	26,220	18,013	14,411	13,245	13,569	12,595	12,975
Total Respondents	11,555	8,263	26,220	6,509	4,403	13,245	5,116	3,860	12,975
Percent Known	71.7	79.6	71.3	72.1	81.3	73.5	71.3	77.8	69.0
Percent Unknown	28.3	20.4	28.7	27.9	18.7	26.5	28.7	22.2	31.0

Data for 1980 and 1990 are based on a survey of first-time freshmen, whereas 1992 data are for all first-time freshmen.

TABLE 4
PERCENT OF CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN, CONDENSED GROUPINGS

	Total University			Senior Colleges			Community Colleges		
	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992
Africa	10.0%	4.0%	2.6%	9.5%	3.2%	2.1%	10.5%	4.9%	3.3%
Asia	7.0%	13.4%	12.3%	8.6%	15.4%	15.6%	4.8%	9.4%	8.8%
Other Caribbean*	21.5%	20.8%	23.5%	22.1%	17.7%	21.1%	20.6%	24.7%	25.6%
Dominican Republic	7.0%	9.7%	8.9%	5.1%	8.1%	7.8%	9.4%	11.5%	10.1%
Eastern Europe	5.0%	5.7%	5.4%	5.8%	6.7%	7.3%	3.9%	4.6%	4.9%
Italy	11.6%	8.8%	7.7%	12.2%	11.5%	8.4%	10.9%	5.5%	7.0%
The Middle East	-	1.6%	2.1%	-	2.2%	2.6%	-	0.8%	1.6%
Mexico/South & Central America	4.8%	10.8%	10.0%	3.4%	8.7%	9.0%	6.8%	13.4%	11.2%
Western Europe	13.2%	10.3%	9.4%	14.6%	11.7%	9.4%	11.4%	8.6%	7.8%
USA, Australia, Canada	-	-	5.5%	-	-	4.8%	-	-	6.1%
Subtotal	80.1%	85.1%	87.4%	81.3%	85.2%	88.1%	78.3%	83.4%	86.4%
Puerto Rico	19.9%	14.9%	12.7%	18.5%	13.8%	11.8%	21.7%	16.2%	13.7%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%	99.8%	99.0%	99.0%	100%	99.6%	100.1%
Total First-Time Freshmen	31,582	27,006	26,220	18,013	14,411	13,245	13,569	12,595	12,975
Total Respondents	11,555	8,263	26,220	6,509	4,403	13,245	5,116	3,860	12,975
Percent Known	71.7%	79.6%	71.3%	72.1%	81.3%	73.5%	71.3%	77.8%	69.0%
Percent Unknown	28.3%	20.4%	28.7%	27.9%	18.7%	26.5%	28.7%	22.2%	31.0%

* Excluding Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN, CONDENSED GROUPINGS, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH*

	Total University				Senior Colleges				Community Colleges			
	1990		1992		1990		1992		1990		1992	
	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born
Africa	5.6%	2.7%	2.8%	2.5%	4.2%	2.1%	2.2%	1.9%	7.7%	3.2%	3.4%	3.2%
Asia	3.7%	23.1%	4.2%	20.1%	4.5%	32.1%	5.5%	26.4%	2.6%	14.3%	2.2%	14.0%
"Other" Caribbean	10.7%	27.4%	13.1%	32.9%	9.3%	24.5%	12.4%	30.8%	12.8%	30.5%	13.9%	35.0%
Dominican Republic	6.5%	10.7%	6.0%	11.6%	6.4%	8.2%	6.2%	9.5%	6.7%	13.3%	5.8%	13.5%
Eastern Europe	3.6%	7.3%	2.7%	7.9%	4.3%	8.7%	3.1%	8.8%	2.3%	5.9%	2.2%	7.1%
Italy	18.1%	0.8%	14.9%	1.1%	21.4%	1.0%	15.4%	0.9%	13.1%	0.7%	14.2%	1.2%
The Middle East	1.6%	1.8%	1.9%	2.4%	2.1%	2.4%	2.4%	3.0%	0.8%	1.3%	1.5%	1.8%
Mexico, South & Cen America	7.6%	12.5%	8.0%	11.7%	6.8%	9.4%	8.2%	9.5%	8.8%	15.4%	7.9%	13.7%
Western Europe	18.6%	4.0%	15.6%	3.5%	19.4%	4.3%	17.1%	3.9%	17.1%	3.6%	13.6%	3.0%
USA, Australia, Canada	-	-	10.8%	0.5%	-	-	9.1%	0.3%	-	-	13.1%	0.5%
	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born
Puerto Rico	23.9%	9.8%	20.1%	5.8%	21.3%	7.4%	18.3%	4.8%	27.8%	12.1%	22.4%	6.8%
TOTAL	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%	99.7%	100.1%	99.9%	99.8%	99.7%	100.3%	100.2%	99.8%
Total Respondents	3,025	2,384	11,669	9,035	1,838	1,196	5,038	4,700	1,187	1,188	3,966	4,987
Percent Known	72.1%	97.2%	77.2%	98.2%	76.3%	96.9%			66.5%	97.5%		
Percent Unknown	27.9%	2.8%	22.8%	1.8%	23.7%	3.1%			33.5%	2.5%		

* Students born in Puerto Rico are included with the non US-born students in this table.

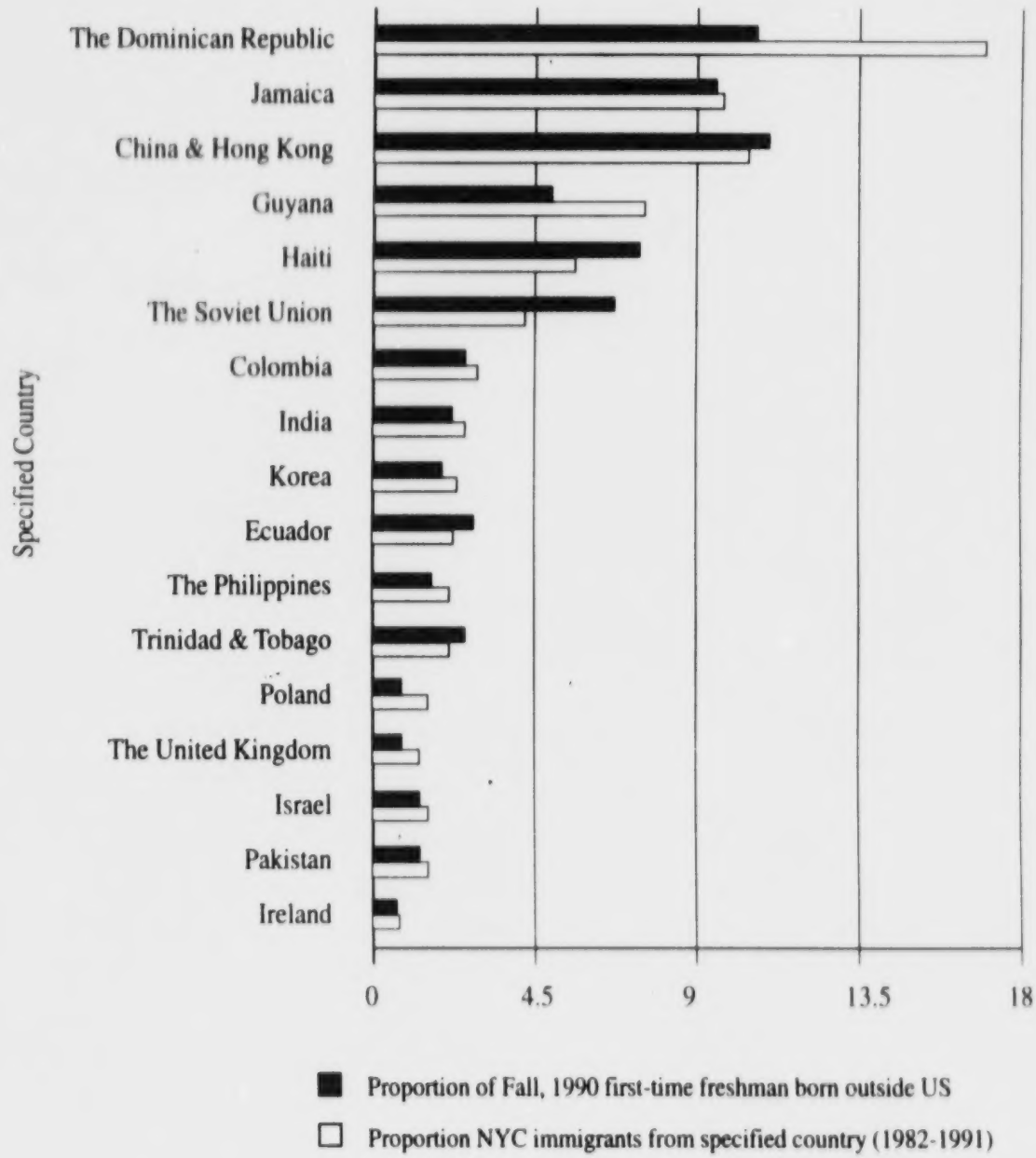
The relationship between the country of identity of recent freshmen students who are born outside of the United States and recent immigrant trends into New York City is illustrated in Figure 1. Figure 1 juxtaposes the proportion of first-time freshmen in 1990 and 1991 born outside of the US who come from each country with the proportion of immigrants to New York City during the 1982-1991 period who come from the same country. Data are shown for the 17 most important source countries for both CUNY and New York City. It is clear from this figure that recent immigration trends go a long way toward explaining the ethnic distribution of foreign-born CUNY students: those countries that account for the largest proportion of immigrants over the period are also the countries that have the greatest representation among foreign-born CUNY students.* As an example, 9.7% of the legal immigrants to New York City between 1982 and 1991 came from Jamaica, and 9.4% of first-time freshmen in the Fall, 1992 class who were born outside of the US came from that same country.

Immigrant Profiles at Individual CUNY Colleges. While most of the 17 undergraduate CUNY colleges have students who represent many areas of the world, immigration trends have brought about important differences in the overall makeup of student bodies, because of the particular patterns of settlement among various immigrant groups within New York City (settlement patterns are discussed in detail in Part III). First, the proportion of students born outside of the US or in Puerto Rico varies greatly across the CUNY colleges [Table 6]. This proportion ranges from a low of 16.2% at the College of Staten Island, to a high of 66.6% at Hostos Community College. In addition, the ancestry of foreign-born students differs dramatically from college to college.

At some colleges, the largest proportion of foreign-born students come from Asia (Staten Island, Queens and Baruch), at others they come primarily from the "other" Caribbean (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Queensborough Community College, Kingsborough Community College, the Borough of Manhattan Community College, New York City Technical College, Bronx Community College, Medgar Evers College, York College, and City College), while at Hunter College equally large proportions come from the "other" Caribbean and Asia. In contrast, at Brooklyn College the largest group is from Eastern Europe, and at Lehman College the largest is from the Dominican Republic.

* *The simple correlation between the two data series is .90.*

Figure 1


The Dominican Republic
Jamaica
China & Hong Kong
Guyana
Haiti
The Soviet Union
Colombia
India
Korea
Ecuador
The Philippines
Trinidad & Tobago
Poland
The United Kingdom
Israel
Pakistan
Ireland
Specified Country
0
4.5
9
13.5
18
Proportion of Fall, 1990 first-time freshman born outside US
Proportion NYC immigrants from specified country (1982-1991)

Given that the varied settlement patterns of immigrants have affected and will continue to affect the makeup of each CUNY college, the planning undertaken on each campus will depend crucially on its projection of the composition of its own future student body. Discussions in the next section concerning the immigrant groups that are likely to grow in the future will facilitate such planning.

B. THE CUNY STUDENT OF THE FUTURE

The CUNY Master Plan adopted by the Board of Trustees on September 30, 1992 targets a total enrollment of 246,000 graduate and undergraduate students in the year 2000. Of this total, approximately 211,000 will be undergraduates, a predicted increase of over 20% in undergraduate enrollment in the 1990-2000 decade, as compared to about a 7% increase in the previous decade. In planning for the future, it is essential to consider the impact current and future immigration trends will have on this growing student body. In this section we estimate the proportion of CUNY students in the year 2000 who will be foreign-born and forecast the countries from which these students will come. In addition, this section includes a discussion of island-born Puerto Rican students because they have a distinct linguistic and cultural background which may make them more similar to foreign-born students than to other US-born students.

Foreign-Born and Puerto Rican-Born Students at CUNY

Although there are various categories of students included among the foreign-born—foreign students, documented immigrants, undocumented immigrants, and immigrants who have already become US citizens—for the purposes of this report we do not try to distinguish among these categories. We have made this decision for two reasons. First, the issues associated with integrating any foreign-born student, regardless of his or her visa type (or lack of visa) or citizenship status, are likely to be very similar. Second, the impression of most of the CUNY advisors who deal with foreign students (students who are studying at CUNY with an F-1 or J-1 visa) is that the largest proportion do not return to their home countries and, consequently, may be viewed as actual or potential immigrants.

We do recognize that foreign-born students are a heterogeneous group: some may have come to the US as young children and become completely acculturated; some may be recent immigrants who have had little education either in English or in their native language; some may

Table 6
Fall 1992 Freshman Class
(respondents to questions on country of birth and country of identity)

College	Percent immigrant or Puerto Rican-born	Country groups with specified proportions of foreign-born students*			
		30.0% or more	29.9-20.0%	19.9-10.0%	9.9-5.0%
Staten Island	16.2%	Asia	OC	EE	ME, MSCA, WE, AF
John Jay	25.0%	OC		DR, PR, MSCA	Asia, EE
Queens	36.8%	Asia		EE, MSCA, OC	ME
Queensborough CC	37.1%	OC	Asia	MSCA	EE
Kingsborough CC	37.6%	OC	EE	Asia	MSCA
Brooklyn	42.3%	EE	Asia, OC		ME, MSCA
Hunter	43.3%	Asia, OC		EE	MSCA, DR, PR
BMCC	44.3%	OC		Asia, DR	MSCA, PR
Lehman	44.4%	DR	OC	Asia	PR, MSCA
NYCTC	47.3%	OC	Asia		MSCA, EE, DR
Bronx CC	49.6%	OC	DR	PR	AF, MSCA
Medgar Evers	50.7%	OC			MSCA
Baruch	50.7%	Asia		OC	EE, DR, MSCA
LaGuardia CC	56.3%		MSCA, Asia, OC	DR	EE
York	56.7%	OC		MSCA, Asia	DR
City	60.4%	OC	Asia	DR	MSCA
Hostos	66.6%	DR	PR	MSCA, OC	

*The four right-hand columns pertain only to students who report their country of ancestry.

Country group abbreviates are as follows: AF = Africa; OC = "Other" Caribbean; DR = the Dominican Republic; EE = Eastern Europe; ME = the Middle East; PR = Puerto Rico; MSCA = Mexico,/South and Central America; WE = Western Europe

have received fine educations in secondary schools abroad and have excellent backgrounds in English and in standard secondary school subjects. Nonetheless, as a group, they have distinct educational needs and interests that distinguish them from American-born students (as will be shown later in this chapter).

In order to predict what proportion of future CUNY students will be foreign-born or born in Puerto Rico, it is necessary to make assumptions about future immigration trends and about the propensity of future immigrants to attend CUNY. More specifically, we must make assumptions about (1) the growth of the foreign-born population of New York City, (2) the growth of its non-immigrant population, and (3) the way in which the proportion of foreign-born in New York City is related to the proportion of foreign-born among CUNY first-time freshmen.

The method we use to make our estimate is based on the simplest possible procedure; we assume that the rates of change in the US-born and foreign-born populations in New York City during the 1990-2000 decade will be the same as they were in the prior decade. Further, we assume that the ratio of the proportion of foreign-born at CUNY to the proportion of foreign-born in New York City will be the same in 2000 as it is currently. Combined, these assumptions yield what we view to be a conservative estimate of the proportion of our future freshmen students who will be foreign-born. The estimate is conservative in the sense that it is likely to understate the future proportion of foreign-born first-time freshmen at CUNY—an increase in the rate of growth of immigrants to New York City or an increase in the propensity of the foreign-born to attend CUNY will cause the proportion of foreign-born students at CUNY to increase even more.

The resulting estimate, as well as the data used to generate this estimate, are shown in Table 7. The notes to the table describe exactly how the calculations were performed.* We estimate that about 50% of our first-time freshmen in the year 2000 will be born either outside of the United States or in Puerto Rico.

** Hidden in these calculations are implicit assumptions about the birth and death rates in these two populations and their rates of migration into or out of New York City (either to or from other parts of New York State, the US, or foreign countries). A sophisticated prediction that explicitly takes into account the age distribution of the foreign- and US-born populations, age-specific birth and death rates of each of these populations, rates of migration of each of these groups between New York City and the rest of the United States, and new immigration rates of the foreign-born from outside of the US, is beyond the scope of this report.*

New York City Immigration*

We saw earlier that the distribution of foreign-born students at CUNY by country of origin closely parallels the corresponding distribution of immigrants to New York City [Figure 1]. Therefore, to predict the countries of origin of our future foreign-born students, it is important first to consider the likely patterns of New York City immigration during the coming decade.

Immigration into New York City depends on general immigration flows to the United States as well as on the attractiveness of the City as a destination. The recent pattern of New York City immigration provides perhaps the best single predictor of future trends. Legal immigration into the City for the past decade is presented in Table 8 (the data come from the US Immigration and Naturalization Service). In this table, we show immigration for 1982-89 and 1990-91 (the most recent years for which data are available) separately so that current changes in trends can be discerned. Note that annual average immigration into New York City **increased** in 1990-91 as compared to the earlier period by **25%**.**

Overall, many of the important source countries for documented immigrants to New York City have remained constant since 1980: the Dominican Republic, China (including the People's Republic of China [PRC], Taiwan, and Hong Kong), Jamaica, Guyana and Haiti. These five countries were the top source countries in the 1982-1989 period and remained important in 1990-1991. However, there are striking changes. The proportion of immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union increased from 1.6% in the earlier period to 12.1% in the recent period. Other countries for which there were increases are Poland and Bangladesh. At the same time, the proportion of immigrants from the anglophone and francophone Caribbean, especially Jamaica

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** We have consulted the following immigration experts in preparing this section: Professor Andrew Beveridge (Queens College Department of Sociology); Professor David Reimers (New York University Department of History); Professor Emmanuel Tobier (New York University School of Public Administration); and Mr. Frank Vardy (New York City Department of City Planning). They are, of course, in no way responsible for the conclusions drawn here.*

*** For the US as a whole, average annual immigration increased by 156%, a much larger percentage than the 25% for New York City. United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1991 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1992) Table 1. US immigration in 1989 through 1991 is significantly higher than in preceding years because of the effects of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which allowed certain categories of illegal aliens in the US to apply for permanent resident status. For example, in 1989, 478,814 of 1,090,924 immigrants were taking advantage of the provisions of the 1986 Act, in 1990 the corresponding figures were 880,372 of 1,536,483, and in 1991 they were 1,123,162 of 1,827,167. Statistical Yearbook 1991 Table 4. This Act has affected New York City less than other parts of the country (notably California and Texas) because only 6% of those who became legal immigrants as a result of this Act were located in the New York metropolitan area. Statistical Yearbook 1991 70.*

TABLE 7
PREDICTING THE PERCENTAGE OF CUNY FIRST-TIME IMMIGRANT AND PUERTO RICAN-BORN FRESHMEN IN THE YEAR 2000[a]

	1980	1990	1992	2000
Foreign-Born NYC Population	23.6%	28.4%	29.4%[c]	33.8%[b]
NYC Population Not US Citizens	11.3%	16.6%	N.A.	N.A.
CUNY First-time, Foreign-Born Freshmen	N.A.	33.2%	41.0%	47.1%[d]
CUNY First-Time Immigrant and Puerto Rican-Born Freshmen	N.A.	36.7%	43.7%	50.2%[e]
CUNY First-Time Freshmen Not US Citizens	22.3%	32.3%	34.8%	N.A.

Notes:

a) Data for New York City come from Socioeconomic Profiles 8-13. CUNY data for 1980 and 1990 are from a sample of first-time freshmen; data for 1992 are from the complete first-time freshmen population (see Appendix).

b) This figure is computed by assuming that the rate of growth of the US-born population in NYC between 1980 and 1990 (-3.0%) persists through the 1990 to 2000 decade, and that the rate of growth of the foreign-born population between 1980 and 1990 (24.7%) persists through the 1990 to 2000 decade.

c) This figure is estimated assuming a straight-line projection of the percentage foreign-born from 1980 to 1990.

d) This figure is computed by assuming that the ratio of the percentage of the NYC population that is foreign-born to the percentage of the CUNY first-time freshmen population that is foreign-born will be the same in 2000 as it was in 1992.

e) This figure is computed by assuming that the ratio of the Puerto Rican-born to the sum of the foreign-born and the Puerto Rican-born will be the same in 2000 as it was in 1992. In 1992, this ratio was 6.2%. The computation is [.062+(1-.062)].471+.471=.502

and Haiti, decreased. When we condense these data by arranging them in the country of origin groupings used earlier and compare the two periods, the changes described above are easier to see [Table 9]. Whereas 27.6% of the immigrants in the earlier period came from the "other" Caribbean countries, in the more recent period the percentage was 20.4%. This is counterbalanced by a large increase in the proportion from Eastern Europe, from 2.9% to 14.8%. There is also a slight decrease in the proportion from Mexico/South and Central America and a slight increase in the proportion from Asia.

Given these recent changes, what can one expect in the future? Much depends, of course, on political and economic conditions around the world which cannot be known at this time. Nonetheless, recent changes in US immigration law will have a significant effect.

The Immigration Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-649) instituted three important changes from earlier legislation.* First, it increased the annual immigration level from approximately 600,000 per annum to 675,000. 480,000 of the visas granted will be family-related. Second, it established a pool of "diversity immigrant" visas (DV-1 visas) for citizens of countries who have not been able to take advantage of the family reunification provisions of earlier immigration law. The countries affected by this new provision are mainly those in western Europe and Africa (many of which had been adversely affected by the immigration of 1965). From fiscal year 1992 through fiscal year 1994, a pool of 40,000 annual visas were set aside for this program, of which 40% have been set aside for Ireland. Beginning in Federal Year 1995, the number will be increased to 55,000 and will be limited to immigrants from countries from which immigration had been less than 50,000 in the preceding five years and to individuals with a high school education or training in an occupation. Third, the new law increased the ceiling on the number of immigrants with special occupations or skills.

These three provisions of the 1990 Act are likely to lead to an increase in immigration into the City during the 1990-2000 decade. The increase in the number of family-related visas to be granted will affect the City because this type of visa is a mode of entry used by many New York City resident immigrants, especially those from the Caribbean and Latin America.[5] In addition, the increase in the number of immigrants with occupational or skills preferences is likely to draw

* *The discussion below is based on Chapter 1 of* The Newest New Yorkers *and Joyce Vialet and Larry M. Eig, "Immigration Act of 1990," Migration World 19:1 (1991) 32-42.*

additional immigrants into New York City. The special "diversity" immigrant visas and the special allocation for immigrants from Ireland are also likely to affect the City disproportionately.

One estimate of which country of origin groups are most likely to be affected by the increased availability of visas for family members can be projected by examining data on the backlog of visa applications for various countries. When there is excess demand for visas from a particular country, as reflected by the visa backlog, an increase in the number of available visas is more likely to have an impact on immigration from that country. Important source countries for the City with substantial visa backlogs are the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, China, Guyana, Haiti, India, Korea, the Philippines, Poland, Pakistan and El Salvador [Appendix Table 6].

Another important category of immigrants not explicitly covered by the 1990 legislation is refugees and asylees.* The number of refugees and asylees in 1991 was about 50% higher than it had been on average over the previous four years. Over a third of the refugees in that year were from the Soviet Union, and about a third of all Soviet refugees into the US settle in the New York metropolitan area.[2] New York City has received refugees not only from the countries of the former Soviet Union, but also from many other countries in the world [See Appendix Table 7, which lists the top sender countries during the decade of the 1980s].

Once refugees and asylees obtain permanent residency in the US, they become eligible under the 1990 law to bring in their spouses and children, and once they become citizens, they can apply for visas for other relatives. This process sets in motion a chain of migration that can lead to a geometric increase in the number of immigrants from any particular country (subject to legislated numerical limitations). Especially for new immigrant groups, the rate of growth of immigration is likely to increase as this "chain" begins to operate. Therefore, some of the immigrant groups that have grown the most in the City in recent years, like those from the Soviet Union, Poland, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, are likely to continue to grow at a substantial rate.

Given recent trends in legal immigration as seen in Table 7 and the 1990 changes in US immigration law cited above, the total number of legal immigrants to the US who choose to settle

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** Another category of recent immigrants to the US is the undocumented immigrants who were permitted to apply for permanent residency under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. This act is responsible for the national surge in immigration between 1989 and 1991 (see earlier footnote p. 32). The immigration generated directly by the IRCA will quickly diminish, however, since only about 200,000 to 300,000 people remained eligible for the legalization provisions of this law at the end of Fiscal 1991. Statistical Yearbook 1991 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1992) 15.*

TABLE 8
IMMIGRATION INTO NYC, SELECTED YEARS

Country	Documented Immigrants 1982 - 1989 (1) Number	Percent	Documented Immigrants 1990 - 1991 (2) Number	Percent	Annual Avg. 90-91 ÷ Annual Avg. 82-89
Total	684,819	100.0%	213,394	100.0%	1.25%
NYC Top Documented Source Countries:[1]					
The Dominican Republic	115,759	16.9%	35,953	16.8%	1.24%
Jamaica	72,343	10.6%	14,769	6.9%	0.82%
China[2]	71,881	10.5%	21,697	10.2%	0.83%
Guyana	53,638	7.8%	14,091	6.6%	1.05%
Haiti	40,819	6.0%	7,699	3.6%	0.75%
The Soviet Union	10,778	1.6%	25,815	12.1%	9.58%
Colombia	22,805	3.3%	4,029	1.9%	0.71%
India	20,039	2.9%	4,899	2.3%	0.98%
Korea	20,112	2.9%	4,249	2.0%	0.85%
Ecuador	17,930	2.6%	4,927	2.3%	1.10%
Philippines	13,539	2.0%	6,252	2.9%	1.85%
Trinidad & Tobago	13,516	2.0%	5,826	2.7%	1.72%
Poland	7,880	1.2%	4,832	2.3%	2.45%
Honduras	8,593	1.3%	2,788	1.3%	1.300%
The United Kingdom	9,019	1.3%	2,035	1.0%	0.90.%
Israel	7,937	1.2%	2,136	1.0%	1.08.%
Peru	7,329	1.1%	2,591	1.2%	1.41.%
Pakistan	6,913	1.0%	2,890	1.4%	1.67.%
El Salvador	8,171	1.2%	1,518	0.7%	0.74%
Barbados	8,079	1.2%	1,371	0.6%	0.68%
Bangladesh	652	0.1%	5,368	2.5%	32.93%
Ireland	7,321	1.1%	3,049	1.4%	1.67%
Italy	593	0.1%	921	0.4%	6.21%
Yugoslavia	418	0.1%	860	0.4%	8.23%
Dominica	168	0.0%	298	0.1%	7.10%
Canada	458	0.1%	980	0.5%	8.56%

Notes: [1]Mexican immigration may have become more significant in 1991.
[2]China includes PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong
Sources: For 1982-1989: Socioeconomic Profiles Table 1. For 1990-91: The Newest New Yorkers: A Statistical Portrait (New York: Department of City Planning, 1992) Table 2.

TABLE 9
IMMIGRATION INTO NYC FOR SELECTED YEARS, COUNTRY OF ORIGIN GROUPINGS

Country of Origin Groupings	Distribution of Documented Immigrants 1982-1989[1]	Distribution of Documented Immigrants 1990-1991[2]
Asia	19.4	21.3
Africa	0.0	0.0
"Other" Caribbean	27.6	20.4
The Dominican Republic	16.9	16.8
Eastern Europe	2.9	14.8
Italy	0.1	0.4
The Middle East	1.2	1.0
South and Central America	9.5	7.8
Western Europe	2.4	2.4
Total	80.0	84.9

Notes:

1. This table is derived from Table 8.
2. Countries that make up each groupings are as follows:
   Asia = China, India, Korea, The Philippines, Pakistan and Bangladesh.
   Other Caribbean = Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Trinidad & Tobago and Barbados.
   South and Central America = Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Peru, and El Salvador .
   E. Europe = Soviet Union, Poland, and Yugoslavia.
   W. Europe = The United Kingdom and Ireland.
   The Middle East = Israel.

Sources: See Table 8.

in New York City is likely to grow during the 1990s, but some ethnic groups will grow faster than others. Immigration from Eastern Europe, Western Europe and Asia is likely to grow faster than the overall average, whereas immigration from Mexico/South and Central America, the Dominican Republic and the "other" Caribbean is likely to grow less quickly than the average. (Indeed, unpublished data from the New York City Department of City Planning indicate that the absolute number of immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Haiti **fell** between 1990 and 1991.)

It cannot be overemphasized, however, that any predictions about future immigration trends are subject to revision. First, political and environmental conditions around the world will affect the number of people who apply for refugee status or asylum, a category that has been growing. The division of the former Yugoslavia, for example, will almost certainly generate refugees from that country. Similarly, the continuing uncertainty about the political future of Hong Kong is likely to cause increases in requests for visas. Second, as economic conditions in other countries change over the decade, the economic "push" to emigrate will expand in some areas and shrink in others. Finally, future economic conditions in New York City will certainly have an impact on the attractiveness of the City as a destination for immigrants.

The Country of Origin of Foreign-Born Students at CUNY in the Year 2000

In 1990, approximately half of the foreign-born first-time freshmen at CUNY had high school diplomas from New York City secondary schools, and the other half either had General Equivalency Diplomas (GEDs) or high school diplomas from outside the City (most of the latter from outside of the country). If this breakdown continues into the future, the country-of-origin distribution of CUNY foreign-born students in the year 2000 will depend on (1) the country-of-origin distribution of immigrant children of appropriate ages who are now in the City public schools or who will enter the public schools between now and 2000, and (2) the country-of-origin distribution of foreign-born students who come to the US when they are past the age of attendance for secondary school and enter CUNY with a high school diploma from outside of the US or with a GED.

No perfect data exist on which to base a scientific prediction of these country-of-origin distributions. However, an examination of three additional factors can be combined with the two factors discussed above to help give us an idea of how the country-of-origin distribution of

foreign-born CUNY freshmen in the year 2000 will differ from the current distribution. These types of data are (1) the country-of-origin distribution of immigrant children in grades kindergarten through sixth grade in the New York City public schools in 1993, (2) the distribution of 1991 documented immigrants to New York City, and (3) the distribution of foreign-born CUNY first-time freshmen in Fall 1992. All three distributions are shown in Table 10 (Puerto Rico is not included in this table because it is discussed separately below).

Information about immigrant children in the public elementary schools, shown in the first two columns of Table 10, comes from the special immigrant census that was taken in the 1992-93 school year. This census tabulated the number of students in each grade who had arrived in the US in the previous three years, by country of origin. One important advantage to these data is that all foreign-born children, whatever their legal status, are included.This distribution, of course, is not a perfect predictor of the distribution of foreign-born high-school graduates in 2000 because: (1) the cohorts represented in these data are broader (K through 6) than the cohorts that will be first-time freshmen in 2000, (2) there will be additional immigrants into the public schools between now and 2000, (3) attrition rates of immigrant students may differ by country of origin, and (4) the proportion of immigrant high school graduates who attend CUNY may differ by country of origin. Nonetheless, this distribution does provide some sense of the likely country-of-origin distribution of that segment of the future foreign-born first-time freshmen population that will come to CUNY with a New York City high school diploma.

The second distribution in Table 10 shows documented immigration into New York City in 1991, the most recent year for which data are available. These data give us our best estimate of the future pattern of legal immigration into the City, especially when seen in light of the earlier discussion of which immigrant groups are most likely to grow or shrink over the decade. The third distribution shown in Table 10 is of foreign-born first-time freshmen in Fall 1992 for the same country-of-origin groups. If one believes that the current ethnic distribution of foreign-born students is the best predictor of the future, the distribution of foreign-born freshmen in Fall 1992 provides the best estimate of the country-of-origin distribution of future students.*

* *While figures for Fall 1992 were used to formulate Table 10, a comparison of first-time freshmen entering CUNY in Fall 1992 and Spring 1993 shows the later cohort to have a slightly higher proportion of students with foreign diplomas and students who are foreign born. Thus, conclusions based on Table 10 may be understated.*

The resulting predicted directions of change in the country-of-origin distribution of CUNY foreign born students are summarized in Table 11. Overall, as was mentioned earlier, recent changes in immigration law and the increased admittance of refugees and asylees into the US mean that immigration into New York City is likely to increase over the decade for all groups as long as economic conditions in the local labor market are reasonably strong. **Changes in the share of foreign-born freshmen students from each country-of-origin group will come about, therefore, primarily because some groups will grow faster than others**. We foresee that in 2000 there will be a larger share of foreign-born students from Eastern Europe and Central and South America and a smaller share from the "other" Caribbean. For the other groups, offsetting considerations make it difficult to state with much confidence the direction of change, though we do hazard some suggestion of the likely net effect. We summarize below some of the factors to be taken into account in making predictions for each group.

Africa. The share of African-born students among all foreign-born freshmen in 2000 is likely to remain stable or decline slightly, because even if immigration from this area were to increase, it would not increase at the same rate as other immigrant groups. (1) There are not many recent immigrants from Africa, suggesting that there is little scope for "chain" migration from this area. (2) There has been a slight increase in immigration from this area over the past decade. (3) Famine in Africa may encourage further emigration, but the populations are so impoverished that they are unlikely to have adequate resources to emigrate.

Asia. The share of Asian students among all foreign-born freshmen in 2000 is likely to increase slightly, given the following considerations: (1) the large number of Asians already in the City means that there is the possibility for additional immigration of family members to New York City from Asia; (2) the forthcoming changes in the status of Hong Kong will continue to encourage emigration from this area; (3) the possibility of continued political repression in the PRC may encourage emigration; (4) there is a large visa backlog for the Philippines, India, China (Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the PRC), Korea, Vietnam and Pakistan, suggesting continued high immigration from these countries. Possible offsetting factors are: (1) the possibility of continued economic expansion in Asian countries, especially in the PRC (in which there is currently much investment taking place), may discourage emigration; (2) legal immigration into the City from Asia slowed down in 1990-91 as compared with 1982-89, (3) the proportion of immigrant

students in the public schools from Asia is smaller than the proportion of recent legal immigrants from this area into the City, suggesting that immigrants from Asia come with fewer school-aged children than other immigrant groups.

"Other" Caribbean. The share of foreign-born freshmen from the countries of the "other" Caribbean is likely to decline in the year 2000. Although this part of the world is one of the largest sources of New York City immigrants and is likely to remain so, the flow seems to have slowed recently because: (1) legal immigration slowed in 1990-91 versus 1982-89 for all countries in this group except Trinidad and Tobago, suggesting that future immigrant flows from this area may increase more slowly in the future than in the past; (2) the representation of students from these countries among immigrant students in the public elementary schools is less than the representation of this group in documented New York City immigration, suggesting that many of these immigrants come as adults. Offsetting considerations are: (1) many immigrants from this area send their children back to their home islands for primary and secondary education and have them return to New York for college: the fact that the representation of current foreign-born freshmen from this area is greater than the representation from this area either in immigration data or in the public school immigration survey suggests that this phenomenon may be widespread, and that a low representation in the public schools does not necessarily imply a low future representation at CUNY; (2) there is a large visa backlog for Jamaica, Haiti, and Guyana, suggesting a continuing demand to emigrate to the US; (3) the large number of immigrants from these countries already in the City means that there is a large potential for additional migration of family members, although the relatively small sizes of these countries might at some point in the future inhibit the supply of immigrants; (4) political turmoil in Haiti may cause additional refugees to come from Haiti, and ultimately to bring their families; (5) an increase in the visa limit allowed in the 1990 immigration act under preference 2 (spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of legal aliens) will tend to increase immigration from this area.

The Dominican Republic. The share of foreign-born freshmen from the Dominican Republic is likely to increase slightly, given continuing legal and illegal immigration and the relatively large proportion of immigrants from this country currently in the public elementary schools: (1) there is a large visa backlog from the Dominican Republic, suggesting additional future immigration; (2) there are many Dominicans in the City, so that there is a large potential

TABLE 10
COUNTRY-OF-ORIGIN GROUPINGS FOR 1993 IMMIGRANT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, 1991 NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS, AND 1992 FOREIGN-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN*

	Immigrant Elementary School Students into NYC, 1993[1]		Documented Immigration into NYC, 1991[2]		Foreign-Born CUNY First-time Freshmen, 1992[3]	
Country-of-Origin Group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Africa	1,241	1.9%	1,366	1.2%	246	2.7%
Asia	11,799	18.2%	25,352	23.0%	1,947	21.4%
"Other" Caribbean	13,637	21.1%	24,108	21.8%	3,190	35.1%
The Dominican Republic	13,484	20.8%	17,057	15.5%	1,120	12.3%
Eastern Europe	7,785	12.0%	21,675	19.6%	894	9.8%
Italy	289	0.4%	402	0.4%	105	1.2%
The Middle East	2,268	3.5%	4,412	4.0%	230	2.5%
Mexico/S & C America	12,403	19.2%	12,174	11.0%	1,133	12.5%
Western Europe	1,520	2.3%	3,263	3.0%	214	2.3%
Other	329	0.5%	536	0.5%	8	0.1%
Total	64,755	99.9%	110,345	100.0%	9,087	99.9%

* See Appendix I, Section C for a summary of the country-of-origin groups.

Sources:
(1) NYC Board of Education. Evaluation and Assessment, "The Cohort Report: Four-Year Results for the Class of 1991 and Follow-ups of the Classes of 1988, 1989 and 1990" (New York, May 1992).
(2) NYC Department of City Planning, unpublished data.
(3) CUNY Office of Institutional Research.

TABLE 11
PREDICTED CHANGES IN THE SHARES OF FOREIGN-BORN AND PUERTO RICAN-BORN CUNY STUDENTS AS SUBJECT POPULATION GROWS, 1992-2000

N.B. The size of every group in absolute numbers is likely to increase, but the distribution of students among the groups is likely to change.

Country-of-Origin Group:	Change in Share of Total Foreign-Born and Puerto Rican-Born Students from Each Country-of-Origin Group
Africa	decline slightly or remain stable
Asia	increase slightly
"Other" Caribbean	decline
The Dominican Republic	increase slightly
Eastern Europe	increase
Italy	remain stable or increase slightly
The Middle East	decline slightly or remain stable
Mexico/South & Central America	increase
Western Europe	remain stable or increase slightly
Puerto Rico	decline slightly

TABLE 12
ACADEMIC PREPARATION OF US-BORN AND NON US-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN, 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born
NYC Public High School	59.9%	47.3%	61.9%	61.0%	57.2%	33.3%
NYC Private High School	15.5%	3.0%	19.0%	4.4%	10.9%	1.6%
NY State, but not NYC	6.3%	2.5%	6.9%	3.8%	5.4%	1.3%
GED	14.2%	20.2%	9.3%	12.2%	20.7%	28.2%
Foreign & Out-of-State	4.1%	27.1%	2.9%	18.7%	5.9%	35.5%
Total Percent	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%	99.9%
Total Respondents	4,089	2,336	2,348	1,173	1,741	1,163

for additional migration of family members, although the relatively small size of the Dominican Republic might at some point inhibit the continuing supply of immigrants; (3) representation of Dominicans among immigrants in the public elementary schools is greater than in documented immigration to the City or among current foreign-born CUNY freshmen, suggesting the possibility of a future increase in CUNY attendance of this group; (4) trends in documented immigration in 1982-1989 versus 1990-1991 indicate that the proportion of New York City immigrants coming from the Dominican Republic has remained constant; (5) there is a substantial amount of undocumented immigration from the Dominican Republic. An offsetting consideration is that the representation of Dominicans at CUNY is less than their representation in the City population, suggesting that, up to now, their enrollment in higher education is lower than the average.

Eastern Europe. The share of foreign-born freshmen from Eastern Europe is likely to increase in the future: (1) there is a large visa backlog for Poland, suggesting continuing future migration; (2) the large number of recent refugees and asylees from this area now residing in the City are likely to bring their families when they are legally able to do so; (3) the continuing economic and political uncertainty in the countries of this area will encourage emigration, and the large number in the City from these communities will attract additional immigrants to settle in New York City; (4) the growth of documented immigration into the City from this area for the period 1982-89 compared to that for the period 1990-91 is very high, given overall immigration growth for the same periods; (5) the representation of current foreign-born students in CUNY from Eastern Europe is less than the representation from this area in the public schools, suggesting the possibility for future growth in the proportion of CUNY freshmen from this area. An offsetting consideration is that the representation of students from this area in the public schools is less than their representation in legal immigration figures, suggesting that the average age of these immigrants may be greater than for other countries.

Italy. The share of foreign-born freshmen from Italy is likely to remain stable or increase slightly in the future: (1) documented immigration into NYC from Italy in 1990-91 compared to 1982-89 increased more than the average; (2) a significant proportion of undocumented immigration into New York State has been estimated to come from Italy (the number of undocumented aliens from Italy residing in New York State as of 1992 has been estimated to be

of the same order of magnitude as the corresponding figures from the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador and Poland);[3] (3) most of the comments below for Western Europe also apply here.

The Middle East. The share of foreign-born freshmen from the Middle East is small and is likely to remain stable or decline slightly: (1) Middle Eastern immigration has been less than the average over the past decade; (2) the representation of students from this area among all immigrant students in the New York City public elementary schools is slightly less than the group's representation among all City immigrants, suggesting that immigrants from this area come with fewer school-aged children than do other immigrants. An offsetting consideration is that future political turmoil in the Middle East could cause increased migration in the future.

Mexico/South and Central America. The share of foreign-born students from this region is likely to grow in the future as more Mexicans make their way to the City: (1) the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which permitted the legalization of illegal immigrants, affected mainly people from countries in this area; since many of these new immigrants are likely to bring in their families when they are legally able to do so, this group is very likely to grow; (2) Mexicans, who have not appeared as a significant immigrant group to the City in Immigration and Naturalization Service data, have been increasing rapidly in the public schools, and are now ranked among the top 10 source countries for recent immigrants in the City public schools. The most likely explanation for this difference is that Mexicans are coming to the City from other parts of the US, rather than immigrating directly to New York from Mexico. The relatively large representation of students from Mexico in the public school immigrant survey, as compared to their representation in immigration data and in current data on CUNY freshmen, suggests that this group will grow in the future; (3) the country with the largest visa backlog is Mexico, suggesting continuing future immigration; (4) other countries in the region with large visa backlogs are El Salvador and Guatemala. Possible offsetting considerations are: (1) documented immigration into the City from the countries in this group increased at a lower rate from 1982-1989 to 1990-1991 than did overall immigration to the City; (2) an important unknown with regard to immigration from Mexico is the economic impact on the Mexican and US economies of the North American Free Trade Agreement.*

** On the other hand, it may well be that the recent passage of Proposition 187 would spur relocation of immigrants from California to New York City.*

Western Europe. The share of foreign-born students from Western Europe is likely to remain stable or increase slightly because of recent changes in the immigration law: (1) the "diversity" provision of the 1990 Immigration Act may encourage additional immigration from this area, especially Ireland, which received a special visa allocation for 1992-1995; (2) the provision of the 1990 Act which allocates more visas to the skilled and well-educated may encourage more immigration to the City from this area; (3) possible increased restrictions on immigration within Europe may increase immigrant flows to the US. A possible offsetting factor is that an economic recovery in Europe could discourage emigration from this area.

Puerto Rican-Born Students at CUNY in the Year 2000.*

Although persons born in Puerto Rico have a different linguistic and cultural background than do mainland-born Americans, as US citizens, they are migrants rather than immigrants when they move to New York City from their home island. For this reason, we discuss them separately in this section. Note that data concerning population flows between Puerto Rico and New York City come not from the US Immigration and Naturalization Service but primarily from the US Census of Population.

As shown earlier, the proportion of all first-time freshmen at CUNY who identified with Puerto Rico fell from 19.9% in 1980 to 14.9% in 1990, and continued to fall to 12.7% in 1992 [Table 4]. This decline is consistent with changes in the Puerto Rican population in New York City, which grew more slowly between 1980 and 1990 than did almost any other Hispanic group (4.2% for the Puerto Ricans versus 26.8% for all Hispanics). Thus, Puerto Ricans as a percentage of all Hispanics in the City went from 61.2% to 50.3%.** When one looks at the change in the specific cohort most likely to attend CUNY, however, it becomes even clearer why the Puerto Rican share of CUNY enrollment declined: the population of Puerto Rican young adults aged 15 to 24 years declined by 12.3% over the 1980-1990 period.[4]

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* *In researching this section, we consulted the following persons (though they are in no way responsible for its conclusions): Professor Hector Cordero of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College; Mr. Miguel Correa of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund; Mr. Angelo Falcón of the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy; Professor Edwin Meléndez, Director, Mauricio Gaston Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts, Boston; Ms. Irma Pérez-Johnson, a former student of Professor Meléndez; Professor Francisco Rivera-Batíz of Teachers College, Columbia University; Professor Clara Rodríguez of Fordham University; Professor Carlos Santiago of The State University of New York, Albany; and Mr. Frank Vardy of the New York City Department of City Planning.*

** *These statistics are tabulated from the 1980 and 1990 Censuses of Population in Socioeconomic Profiles Table B.*

This relative decline in the Puerto Rican population in New York City reflects the relative decline both of mainland-born Puerto Ricans and island-born Puerto Ricans. The focus of this section, however, is on predicting the change in the proportion of CUNY students born in Puerto Rico, rather than on students with a Puerto Rican heritage. The proportion of CUNY first-time freshmen born on the island of Puerto Rico (as a percentage of all foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students) fell from 9.8% in 1990 to 5.8% in 1992 (comparable data do not exist for 1980).

To determine how this proportion is likely to change in the future, we first examine recent net migration flows between New York City and Puerto Rico.* Although net migration to the US from Puerto Rico has been estimated to be positive during the 1980s**, Puerto Rican migrants are now more likely than in the past to choose states other than New York in which to settle. For example, while 49% of Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States in 1980 lived in New York State, the proportion of migrants to New York State during the 1982-88 period was just 37.9%.[5] Further, data on the migration of Puerto Ricans in and out of New York City between 1985 and 1990, taken from the US Census of Population, show that net migration to New York City during this period was negative, and that this negative net migration was greatest for the 5 to 17 year-old cohort.[6]

These data explain why the proportion of students at CUNY who were born in Puerto Rico has been falling. What can we predict for the year 2000? To answer this question, one must consider first the likely net migration flows from Puerto Rico to the United States; second, whether the current tendency for this migration to settle in areas other than New York City will continue; and third, whether the propensity of Puerto Rican-born students to attend CUNY will change.

** It is important to distinguish between gross and net migration when discussing Puerto Rican migration, since there is large circular flow between the mainland (and New York City) and Puerto Rico. See C. Rodríguez, "Puerto Ricans and the Circular Migration Thesis," Journal of Hispanic Policy and Marta Tienda, "Puerto Ricans and the Underclass Debate," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 501 (January 1989) 105-119.*

*** Meléndez uses annual data from the Puerto Rico Planning Board Migration Survey to derive estimates of net out-migration of those aged 16 years and older from Puerto Rico to the United States. He estimates that there were 151,200 net out-migrants from Puerto Rico between 1982 and 1988, approximately 25,000 per year. Edwin Meléndez, "Los Que Se Van, Los Que Regresan: Puerto Rican Migration to and from the United States, 1982-88," Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños Political Economy Working Paper Series #1, 1993, Table 1.*

Studies of the determinants of migration from Puerto Rico to the United States have focused on the role of economic factors, and in particular, on the role of employment opportunities in the US mainland as compared to those on the island of Puerto Rico.[7] For example, a recent study concludes that "from 1982 to 1988 Puerto Rican migration was driven primarily by employment opportunities."[8] With regard to future migration flows, Pérez-Johnson predicts that the demand for labor in Puerto Rico in the year 2000 will not improve substantially over current labor demand, but that the labor force is expected to grow. Combined, these trends will lead to an increase in unemployment in Puerto Rico, and therefore, to an increase in migration to the mainland US. Pérez-Johnson says, "For most occupations the labor market outlook in Puerto Rico for the year 2000 is sufficiently poor to result in higher emigration to the United States ..."[9] Further, she expects this general conclusion to hold whatever the change in the future legal status of Puerto Rico and/or in the tax status of US firms that have manufacturing or other production facilities on the island of Puerto Rico.

Given that net migration from Puerto Rico is predicted to increase in the year 2000, will these migrants settle in New York City? There is little research directed specifically at this issue. However, both the Meléndez and the Cordero studies do document that a smaller proportion of Puerto Rican migrants are settling in New York State than in the past, and that states like Illinois, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Florida are now becoming relatively more attractive.[10] This information, combined with the net out-migration of Puerto Ricans from New York between 1985 and 1990 cited earlier, suggests that there is unlikely to be an increase in the number of Puerto Rican-born young people in New York City over the next decade, and there might even be a decline.

To get a prediction of the number of Puerto Rican-born students at CUNY in 2000 from the information presented so far, it is necessary to make some estimate of the advancement rate of these students to CUNY. Between 1980 and 1990 the school retention rate of all Puerto Rican young people (those born on the mainland and those born in Puerto Rico) in the City has increased by about 10 percentage points.[11] If this trend were to continue, and if it were to apply to young people born in Puerto Rico, the proportion of Puerto Rican-born young people who attend CUNY would likely increase because of the larger pool of college-eligible Puerto Rican-born students. The net effect of all of these changes—an increase in migration to the US; a decline in the proportion of migrants coming to the City; a decline between 1980 and 1990 in the

number of Puerto Ricans in New York City under 10 years old (mainland-born and Puerto Rican-born combined); an increase in school retention of all Puerto Rican students in the City; and a decline in the proportion of CUNY foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students who come from Puerto Rico—is hard to predict. Our best guess is that the number of Puerto Rican-born freshmen who enter CUNY in 2000 will be about the same as it has been in recent years.* Thus, the share of Puerto Rican-born students among all foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students in the year 2000 is likely to fall as compared with recent years.**

C. HOW DO STUDENTS BORN ABROAD OR IN PUERTO RICO DIFFER FROM US-BORN STUDENTS?

As we look to the future of CUNY in the next decade, it is clear from the data presented in the preceding section that foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students will comprise an increasingly significant proportion of our student population, and that half of the entering class of freshmen in Fall 2000 will have been born outside the United States or on the island of Puerto Rico. The arrival of these students at CUNY is likely to affect the kinds of academic programs and student services that will be required. One way to investigate how the CUNY student of the future will differ from the student of the past is to explore, as we do below, how current foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students differ from their US-born counterparts.***

Age and Sex. The sex distributions of both categories of students are similar, but the age distributions are strikingly different [Appendix Table 8]. The majority are female: 61% of the foreign-born and those born in Puerto Rico, and 65% of the US-born. With regard to age, foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students are substantially older than native-born students.

** This is also the best guess of Hector Cordero of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College (personal conversation).*

*** It is unlikely that students will migrate to the City from Puerto Rico specifically to attend CUNY, as there are a large number of institutions of higher education in Puerto Rico, and the cost of these institutions is comparable to the tuition at CUNY. In addition, students are eligible for Pell and other grants in Puerto Rico, as they are in New York City.*

**** Except where otherwise indicated, the comparisons in this section are based on data for the entering freshman class in Fall 1990.*

Whereas 50% of native-born first-time freshmen are eighteen years old or younger, only 25% of foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born first-time freshmen are this young. Similarly, while 15% of native-born freshmen are 23 years old or older, the corresponding proportion for foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students is 30%. The same pattern is observed for enrollment in both the senior and community colleges. Thus, when we consider the needs of non-native students, as we will below, it is important to keep in mind that these students are on average older than are US-born students.

Parental Education. The main difference in educational backgrounds between the parents of the two categories of students is that the parents of foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students are much less likely to have completed high school. For example, 52% of their mothers had not completed high school, whereas the corresponding proportion for US-born students is 33% [Appendix Table 9]. These differences hold for fathers as well as mothers, and for students at both community and senior colleges. Another interesting finding is that the difference in parents' education between students in community and senior colleges is greater for foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students than for US-born students.

Student Preparation. Student preparation is an important predictor of college success.* Therefore, if foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students are differentially prepared for college-level work, this will have implications for a variety of student services.

Non-native and US-born CUNY freshmen differ in the types of high school preparation they have [Table 12]. Not surprisingly, the proportion of US-born students with a New York State high school diploma is significantly higher, at 81.7% compared with 52.8% for foreign-born freshmen. Correspondingly, the proportion of students with foreign or out-of-state diplomas (these two categories cannot be distinguished in the data) is much higher for foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students, at 27.1% versus 4.1%. They are also more likely to have a GED than are US-born students, at 20.2% versus 14.2%.**

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* *Analysis of CUNY data indicates that the lower a student's college admissions average, the fewer high school academic credits he or she has completed, and the fewer skills tests he or she passes, the less likely that student is to graduate. James Murtha* et. alia., *"Update on Student Persistence: A Report on the 1978 and 1980 Cohorts," (Office of Institutional Research and Analysis, The City University of New York, April 1989) Table 2.*

** *Foreign-born students who cannot easily document their education in their home country, such as refugees, often get GED degrees in order to enter CUNY.*

Another measure of student preparation is student pass rates on the basic-skills tests in reading, writing and math required of all CUNY freshmen. The differences in pass rates between the two categories of students are striking [Table 13]. US-born students are much more likely to have passed all three assessment tests and less likely to have failed all three. As is to be anticipated, the non-US-born students have the most difficulty with English, both in reading and writing. As concerns math, non-US-born students are slightly more likely to pass the assessment test. It comes as no surprise to learn that when asked whether they have a need for tutoring in reading or writing, more than half of these students respond positively [Appendix Table 10].*

Another way to compare the high school preparation of US-born and non-US-born freshmen is to compare the number of college preparatory units they completed before coming to CUNY. This information is tabulated for the Fall 1993 first-time freshmen class for all students with complete high school records [Table 14]. Fall 1993 was the first semester in which freshmen students had to meet a standard set by the College Preparatory Initiative (CPI), with regard to the number of college preparatory units (the standard only applied to students who graduated from high school or received a GED in June 1993 or thereafter). For students who proceeded directly to CUNY upon completing high school or a GED (those who graduated in June 1993 or thereafter), there was very little difference between those born in the US and those born abroad or in Puerto Rico with regard to the average number of CPI units or the proportion with 16 or more units, though the US-born were slightly better prepared.** For students who entered CUNY with some delay after completing high school or a GED, there was a substantial difference between the two categories.

** It is important here to distinguish between foreign-born students and foreign students. The latter must take the TOEFL test before being admitted to CUNY colleges. The required grade differs from college to college, but most senior colleges require a score of 500 for admission, and the community colleges require a somewhat lower score. Jackie Leighton of Hunter College and Chair of the University Council of International Student Advisors, indicated that foreign students are more likely to pass the assessment tests than are immigrant students. Appendix Table 11 shows pass rates on the assessment test of foreign-born students by the number of years that they have been in the US. Those who have been here for two years or less, the category that will include almost all foreign students, have higher pass rates in reading than those who have been here three to five years, and much higher pass rates in math than almost any other group.*

*** 16 units is the number that will be required of all students beginning in the Fall 2000 semester at the conclusion of the phase-in period for CPI.*

TABLE 13
PASS RATES ON BASIC SKILLS TESTS OF US-BORN AND NON-US-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN IN 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born & Puerto Rican-Born
Passed None	17.0%	27.6%	12.5%	21.0%	23.1%	34.4%
Passed Reading	72.9%	42.9%	79.3%	49.2%	64.1%	35.5%
Passed Writing	55.2%	24.5%	60.6%	26.3%	48.1%	22.4%
Passed Mathematics	43.7%	49.2%	55.4%	63.0%	28.1%	34.9%
Passed All Three Tests	29.4%	12.1%	38.2%	18.4%	17.5%	7.4%

TABLE 14
CPI CREDITS FOR FALL 1993 FRESHMEN WITH COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL RECORDS

	Students with High School Diploma or GED Prior to June 1993[1]		Students with High School Diploma or GED in June 1993 or Thereafter[2]	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non-US-Born (Including Puerto Rico)	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non-US-Born (Including Puerto Rico)
Average CPI Units	10.5	12.5	13.8	13.3
Proportion with 10 Units or More	60.0%	72.0%	86.2%	82.1%
Proportion with 12 Units or More	42.8%	61.2%	75.1%	70.1%
Proportion with 16 Units or More	14.8%	41.6%	46.2%	40.8%
Number of Students	2,587	3,799	6,748	4,980

[1]Data for 816 students who did not specify their place of birth are excluded from these calculations
[2]Data for 712 students who did not specify their place of birth are excluded from these calculations

In this case, the foreign-born and Puerto Rican-born students had completed on average two more college preparatory credits and were much more likely to have completed 16 or more CPI units.* Thus, on the basis of CPI units completed by members of the Fall 1993 entering class, the preparation of foreign-born students for college does not appear to be worse than that of US-born students, and in some cases their preparation is superior.

Degree Aspirations. One area in which non-US-born and US-born students differ very little is with regard to their degree aspirations. About 30% of both groups wish to complete a Baccalaureate degree, and 50% hope to progress even further in their training [Appendix Table 12].

Usage of Student Services. In 1989 CUNY conducted a special sample survey of all students (not just freshmen) to ascertain which services students used. We examined the data from this survey, the 1989 Student Experience Survey, to see if there are differences in the way US-born and foreign-born students made use of these services. In Table 15 we have tabulated the proportion of US-born and foreign-born students who have used each of the services listed. Services marked with an asterisk are those for which there are statistically significant differences in usage between these two types of students. Except for the most common of services (Registrar, Cafeteria, Library and Book Store), foreign-born students were heavier users of services than were US-born students. They were more likely to make use of the Financial Aid office, the Admissions office, academic advisement, personal counseling, career counseling, job placement services, health services, orientation, day care services, and computer facilities. Thus, our predicted increase in the percent of CUNY students who will be foreign-born means that there will be increased demand for a variety of student services in the future.**

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* *A partial explanation for this difference is that the foreign-born students who entered CUNY with a delay after completing secondary school are likely to comprise a larger proportion of foreign students, whereas the foreign-born students who enter CUNY directly after completing high school are less likely to be foreign students and more likely to have a US diploma.*

** *The results of this 1989 survey contrast with the impressions conveyed by the various immigrant panels that were convened as part of the current report. The panel participants were concerned that immigrant students did not feel comfortable soliciting help and advice, that their language difficulties made it difficult for them to communicate with those who might be able to help them, and that they were wasting time and making poor decisions concerning their education because of this lack of proper guidance (discussed in detail in Part II of this report). The results of the 1989 survey suggest that, despite possible barriers to communication, foreign-born students make substantial use of the wide variety of services offered on CUNY campuses.*

TABLE 15
PANEL A
USE OF SERVICES BY STUDENTS AT ALL CUNY COLLEGES, 1989 STUDENT EXPERIENCE SURVEY

Question:		Us-Born (Excluding Puerto-Rico)		Non US-Born and Puerto-Rican-Born	
Question Number	*Did student use the following campus facilities?*	Number	Percent who used service	Number	Percent who used service
15A	Registrar's Office	3,277	93.7%	1,974	95.6%
15B	Financial Aid Office[1]	3,260	59.1%	1,950	72.1%
15C	Admissions Office[1]	3,270	87.5%	1,941	92.7%
15D	Academic Advisement[1]	3,272	69.6%	1,942	78.5%
15E	Personal Problem Counseling[1]	3,282	20.1%	1,951	32.1%
15F	Career/Vocational Guidance[1]	3,275	25.7%	1,935	36.0%
15G	Job Placement Services[1]	3,277	22.5%	1,941	34.5%
15H	Student Health Services[1]	3,262	15.3%	1,936	26.8%
15I	Freshmen/New Student Orientation[1]	3,274	54.2%	1,955	66.0%
15J	Day Care Services[1]	3,267	7.4%	1,930	13.7%
15K	Cafeteria/Food Services	3,282	77.8%	1,952	78.0%
15L	Library Facilities	3,288	91.0%	1,958	93.5%
15M	Computer Facilities[1]	3,272	51.1%	1,955	66.3%
15N	Book Store	3,295	96.8%	1,966	95.1%

Note: The number of non-respondents to each question ranged between 675 and 750 students.
[1]Difference in the proportion of US-born and non-US-born who use this service is statistically significant at the 5% level of significance.

TABLE 15
PANEL B
USE OF SERVICES BY STUDENTS AT ALL CUNY COMMUNITY COLLEGES, 1989 STUDENT EXPERIENCE SURVEY

Question:		Us-Born (Excluding Puerto-Rico)		Non US-Born and Puerto-Rican-Born	
Question Number	*Did student use the following campus facilities?*	Number	Percent who used service	Number	Percent who used service
15A	Registrar's Office	3,277	93.7%	1,974	95.6%
15 A	Registrar's Office	963	93.3%	678	95.5%
15B	Financial Aid Office[1]	948	62.2%	673	78.3%
15 C	Admissions Office[1]	955	89.3%	665	93.6%
15 D	Academic Advisement[1]	956	71.2%	665	79.9%
15 E	Personal Problem Counseling[1]	962	26.9%	673	39.5%
15 F	Career/Vocational Guidance[1]	959	31.3%	658	43.3%
15G	Job Placement Services[1]	954	23.9%	660	37.1%
15H	Student Health Services[1]	952	19.9%	660	31.6%
15I	Freshmen/New Student Orientation[1]	957	61.2%	674	75.4%
15J	Day Care Services[1]	953	11.7%	661	20.4%
15K	Cafeteria/Food Services	959	79.6%	674	80.8%
15L	Library Facilities	956	89.7%	677	93.3%
15M	Computer Facilities[1]	955	54.5%	674	68.4%
15N	Book Store	963	95.2%	674	93.9%

Note: [1]Difference in the proportion of US-born and non-US-born who use this service is statistically significant at the 5% level of significance.

TABLE 15
PANEL C
USE OF SERVICES BY STUDENTS AT ALL CUNY SENIOR COLLEGES, 1989 STUDENT EXPERIENCE SURVEY

Question:		Us-Born (Excluding Puerto-Rico)		Non US-Born and Puerto-Rican-Born	
Question Number	*Did student use the following campus facilities?*	Number	Percent who used service	Number	Percent who used service
15A	Registrar's Office	2,314	93.8%	1,296	95.7%
15B	Financial Aid Office[1]	2,312	57.8%	1,277	68.9%
15C	Admissions Office[1]	2,315	86.8%	1,276	92.3%
15D	Academic Advisement[1]	2,316	68.9%	1,278	77.8%
15E	Personal Problem Counseling[1]	2,321	17.3%	1,278	28.2%
15F	Career/Vocational Guidance[1]	2,317	23.4%	1,277	32.3%
15G	Job Placement Services[1]	2,323	21.9%	1,281	33.1%
15H	Student Health Services[1]	2,310	13.4%	1,276	24.3%
15I	Freshmen/New Student Orientation[1]	2,317	51.3%	1,281	61.1%
15J	Day Care Services[1]	2,314	5.6%	1,268	10.2%
15K	Cafeteria/Food Services	2,323	77.1%	1,278	76.5%
15L	Library Facilities	2,332	91.5%	1,281	93.6%
15M	Computer Facilities[1]	2,317	49.8%	1,281	65.3%
15N	Book Store	2,332	97.5%	1,292	95.7%

Note: [1]Difference in the proportion of US-born and non-US-born who use this service is statistically significant at the 5% level of significance.

PART II

ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS AND STUDENTS FROM PUERTO RICO

As part of the process of taking a comprehensive look at the needs of our student population born abroad or in Puerto Rico and at the ability of CUNY colleges to anticipate and to respond both to short term changes and to long term trends, we solicited information from the chief academic and student affairs officers of each college of the University. These surveys provided much information about present conditions and future needs as seen from the perspectives of the faculty, staff, and administration. In a parallel phase of research, University staff met with community and educational leaders as well as student representatives at a series of roundtable discussions. At these meetings those most knowledgeable of the particular needs and concerns of the Puerto Rican student community and of various immigrant student communities were able to present facts, opinion, and feelings.

In this part of the report we attempt a synthesis of the ideas, comments, and suggestions that stem from those various written and personal consultations, and we also try to pinpoint the particular concerns of each community. On many issues there is broad consensus as to the types of programs and services the University needs to establish, and indeed, in some instances, a consensus as to the most helpful and effective means of providing them. In certain areas, the needs of the various communities diverge. The material in this part offers a basis for further discussion and for the formulation of a comprehensive plan of action.

Students' Educational Preparation for College

All CUNY colleges must deal with a great diversity of academic preparation among their native-born students; this diversity is further heightened by the growing number of immigrant students and students who have migrated from Puerto Rico. Furthermore, immigrant and island-born Puerto Rican students comprise a heterogeneous population in terms of prior schooling, English language proficiency, and cultural background, while their differing cultural perceptions and customs may have a marked influence on learning and social integration. Such factors must be taken into account in all current and future planning if the University is to meet the educational

needs of these students and offer them a reasonable chance of completing the courses of study they undertake.

In their analysis of the academic preparation of foreign-born and Puerto Rican students and their needs, both the colleges' survey responses and the roundtable discussions distinguished two distinct groups. The first is comprised of students who have come to this country in their mid to late teens or at an older age, while the second is comprised of students who arrived in this country as children and have attended public school in New York City or elsewhere in the US.

A further essential distinction is to be made for the first group between those with extensive academic preparation in their country of origin and those who may have received a minimal amount of schooling there.* The amount of prior education tends to differ, sometimes quite considerably, according to the country of origin. For example, among the Israeli, Eastern European, and some East and South Asian communities, many students come to CUNY with prior professional training and academic degrees or credits. The majority of these students are well prepared in their native language and often have some prior preparation in English. Other communities, such as the Central and South American, some of the Caribbean and parts of East and South Asia, contain a majority of students without any prior college, or even high school study, with weaker preparation in their native language, and with very little prior exposure to English. Of course, in addition to these two extremes, there are many students from all communities who fall at various points along the educational continuum. What must be noted in the case of these students who were not brought up in the US is that, with the possible exception of students coming from countries formerly part of the British Empire, most will require ESL instruction to a greater or lesser extent.

As for the second group, Part I of this report demonstrates that the past decade in New York City has seen a great influx of immigrant and Puerto Rican families with school-age children. During this period these children have comprised an ever larger percentage of New York City public school classes.** But while many graduate from high school, large numbers leave before graduation and later obtain a GED, possibly taking the examination in a language other

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* *Appendix IV lists all of the countries in which immigrant CUNY students had studied on the secondary level as of 1992. Its length is truly astonishing.*

** *Many of these students learn English during their primary or high school years, graduate from high school, and move successfully into college or the job market.*

than English. These students, who have received secondary schooling in the US—and in many cases primary schooling as well—now form a significant segment of entering freshman classes at quite a few CUNY colleges. Many, whether high school graduates or holders of the GED, are underprepared. Although they form a heterogeneous group in terms of English proficiency, a large percentage come from lower socio-economic levels. They have attended school under the same disadvantageous conditions and have confronted the same social problems as have US-born English-speaking students who later enter the University with special academic needs. The resulting underpreparedness for college, which may be complicated by limited English proficiency and little or no formal study in their native languages, means that these students enter the University with complex academic and linguistic requirements.

English as a Second Language and Limited English Proficiency

A major part of the discussion in most of the roundtables focused on English language instruction and the problems of integration into the regular curricula of the University faced by students with limited English proficiency. For a great many of the participants, these are the overriding academic concerns. And indeed, there can be no doubt that providing all students whose native language is not English with the means to learn to speak, comprehend, read, and write English at college level is one of the major challenges facing CUNY and the key to assuring these students' success.

At the same time the present study was being prepared, the University's Office of Academic Affairs convened a Task Force to study the teaching of English as a Second Language in CUNY and to make recommendations to the University "for developing policy and funding programs for ESL students." This Task Force reported in Spring 1994, presenting comprehensive data on the current situation of ESL in CUNY and making 44 recommendations. Many of these recommendations cover points raised in the roundtable discussions and in the college survey responses; in a number of instances, they parallel recommendations made by both panelists and survey respondents. The reader is referred to the Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force for an in-depth analysis of the issues involved in the teaching of ESL within CUNY.

Assessment and Placement. One area of primary concern to panelists was that of language proficiency assessment for limited English-speaking students. At present, the CUNY Reading Assessment and Writing Assessment Tests are administered to all students upon admission to a CUNY college. The tests are used as placement instruments to distinguish between students who require special ESL or basic skills English courses and those who do not. The same instruments are used to assess the reading and writing abilities of all students, whether they are native or non-native English speakers. Since the CUNY assessment battery is not designed to distinguish native from non-native English language students, nor to discriminate among discrete levels of English language proficiency, procedures which rely on it for accurate placing of non-native English language students into specialized ESL courses are problematic. Survey responses recommended consideration be given to the use of specialized language-assessment instruments designed especially for this population. Such tests would have the added advantage of avoiding cultural bias and would provide more help in identifying the exact type of ESL instruction needed. In addition, both the roundtable panelists and the survey respondents noted that assessment and placement programs for immigrant students might profitably include assessment of oral language proficiency.*

Instruction Targeted at Particular Linguistic Groups. A recurrent theme at roundtable discussions of English language instruction was that courses should be offered for particular linguistic groups and directed toward their special needs. There was a general feeling that more rapid progress could be made in such classes. Some of the panels were of the opinion as well that students from their communities required training in specialized areas only, whether it be oral comprehension, oral expression, or "academic" writing, and that they should not have to spend time in standard ESL courses which cover a full range of language skills.

** The CUNY ESL Task Force made a series of nine comprehensive recommendations concerning assessment, including a recommendation that the Reading Assessment Test "be taken only as a gross measure, a sort of 'red flag' to signal that students may have difficulty reading English. The test should be used as only one measure for placement in combination with others." The City University of New York, Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force (New York: The City University of New York, Spring 1994) ii, Recommendation 13. It should also be noted that a University Assessment Review Committee has recently been convened by the Office of Academic Affairs in response to a call from the Council of Presidents. This Committee has among its charges to "consider changes in assessment policy and practice that will better serve our changing student population," and to "make recommendations to discourage multiple uses of University skills tests and students' scores of these tests."*

Remediation

While it is clear that some students born abroad or in Puerto Rico may be in need of remedial reading and writing courses, panel participants and survey respondents were concerned that a distinction be made between students who need ESL instruction and students who could benefit from remedial courses designed for native speakers of English.

The current situation in the University has been cogently presented in the Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force. Of freshmen entering the University in Fall 1990, 44% said that English was not their native language; about 15% of freshmen enrolled in ESL courses, leaving 29% who did not, either because of real proficiency in English, apparent proficiency, or because they were not directed to ESL.[1] Many of the 29% end up in remedial reading and writing courses. The same survey found that 43% of the Fall 1990 cohort who failed both the reading and writing assessment tests reported that English was not their native language.[2] While it is possible that some students who either arrived in this country as children and attended public schools or who have otherwise been resident in the US for a long time are sufficiently proficient in spoken English that remedial courses in reading and writing designed for native speakers would be to their benefit, procedures which properly identify the linguistic capabilities of all students are called for.* Above all, panelists were concerned that ESL students not spend additional semesters in remediation after mastering English.

Interrelation of ESL and the Standard Curriculum

In the roundtable discussions, many voices testified to the firm desire of students of all the communities represented to begin study in their academic majors as early as possible. This goal is apparently juxtaposed against an equally ardent desire for more and better specialized language instruction and other academic support. In the survey, several colleges underlined the same dichotomy, citing both the strong motivation and high aspirations of students born abroad and in

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* *Needless to say, a different set of issues is involved concering remediation in mathematics. A higher percentage of ESL Level 2 and 3 students pass the Mathematics Assessment Test than students taking remedial reading and/or writing courses. Indeed, the ESL Task Force concludes that the math assessment test, which is currently administered in English or in Spanish, may in fact underestimate ESL students' mathematics capabilities because of their limited English proficiency and recommends that it be translated into Chinese, French and Russian, in addition to Spanish.* Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force *24-25, Recommendation 12. See also Appendix Table 9.*

Puerto Rico, and the challenges to their academic progress which result from an inadequate command of English. Describing the academic needs of ESL students, one college reported:

> Even after they have passed the required assessment tests and completed a sequence of ESL courses, persistent reading and writing difficulties continue to seriously hinder their rate of progress towards a degree and academic performance. Reading texts, writing essays and comprehending class lectures pose great challenges to these students, who require both supplemental instruction and a climate sensitive to their linguistic and cultural needs in the classroom.

Mainstreaming. Although one of their prime objectives clearly may be early participation in the regular college curriculum, non-native and Puerto Rican students recognize that the process of acquiring a second language is a complex and time-consuming enterprise. They acknowledge that they are challenged by the reading, writing, and aural comprehension demands of subject-matter courses in the disciplines. The solution many propose is better integration of language instruction and academic support with a wide array of courses in the regular curriculum.

Not incidentally, the fact that English language courses may bear little or no academic credit weighs heavily in the equation. Both community representatives and survey respondents point out that this lack of credit has a devastating effect on many students' motivation and persistence.* And, if financial aid eligibility is depleted or exhausted by taking too many non-credit bearing courses for too long, students may never complete the programs they had entered the University to pursue and may never graduate.**

Many of those commenting on this question, were strongly of the opinion that, from a pedagogical standpoint, language instruction is not less, but more effective, when offered in the

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** The question of credit for ESL courses was one which a number of panelists felt should be reexamined. The ESL Task Force points out, "For ESL students who have not completed high school and taken English courses in their country, the task of learning English is more similar to the task of a native speaker, foreign-language learners at elementary levels, those taking, for example, courses like Spanish 101 or Italian 101 than it is to native speakers developing reading and writing skills." Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force 15-16.*

*** The concept of mainstreaming is enthusiastically supported in the recommendations of the CUNY ESL Task Force. Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force 40-43. The Task Force also cites examples of integrated approaches through linked courses, bridge courses, sheltered courses, and thematic courses, which have been successfully implemented at a number of colleges. Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force 34-36.*

context of the disciplines students come to the University to study. Questions were raised about the benefits of language programs that cut students off from a large part of the academic life of the institution. At the same time, others doubted the wisdom of enrolling students in courses where they may be ill-equipped to participate fully in the intellectual give and take of classroom discussions, where they may be unprepared to analyze source materials critically, and where they cannot produce written and oral evidence of their mastery of the subject. Considering the variability in the profiles of the various groups of students under discussion, their English proficiency, and their intellectual preparation for college, and in light of the analyses and observations made of the existing programs and procedures, changes that are contemplated must be planned in such a way as to suit the needs of each of the major categories of students born abroad or in Puerto Rico. It is only from a thorough consideration of all the relevant data for each of these groups, as well as the experience of ESL and discipline-based faculty, that courses and programs which contain the appropriate mix of English language and subject matter instruction can be designed so as to promote swift, steady, and substantive academic progress.

Supplemental Instruction. Given the challenges to academic success based on the limited English proficiency of the students under consideration, all constituencies agreed that one area in need of significant improvement at the University is academic support services, especially tutoring. Panelists and respondents emphasized that extra academic support should not be limited to ESL and remedial students, but is needed by many students whose native language is not English when they take courses in the academic disciplines. It was felt that students who have completed ESL and remedial programs would greatly benefit from supplemental tutoring in lower division courses. One college noted that:

> ...non-native students are highly motivated, intelligent and eager [but] have a multitude of reading and writing difficulties which prevent them from performing at their full potential. This is especially true in content courses in the social sciences and humanities, which usually require analysis and interpretation of texts and lectures.... The traditional lecture format in most classes often does not sufficiently meet the needs of ESL students in content courses because the academic language needs of the classroom require manipulation of difficult concepts.... [Students need] both supplemental instruction and a climate sensitive to their linguistic and cultural needs.

Recognizing that resources are limited, community and educational leaders urged the University to involve successful advanced students from the various communities in providing such services. For example, these advanced students could serve as role models and as mentors in established instructional peer tutoring programs, and new programs which make use of their talents and abilities should be encouraged.

Acculturation

Many of the roundtables discussed at some length the needs of students from their communities for cultural orientation. Discussion focused on three different but related areas. The first, and perhaps the most easily dealt with, was orientation to the American system of higher education. Some students coming from countries where higher education is conceived of very differently, have little idea of the structure of higher education in this country or the purposes which American society expects it to serve. For some students, the classroom delivery of higher education in this country differs greatly from that in their home countries. These students often experience confusion in approaching their classes and their studies, as they do not understand what is expected of them. Faculty from various colleges described the difficulties experienced when some of their non-native students were asked to present an argument from an individual perspective, to analyze texts critically, or to debate with the instructor. While such teaching strategies are commonplace for students who have been schooled in America, they may be new and strange to students from other cultures, and the faculty needs to learn how to introduce these strategies to classes which include students who are unfamiliar with them. Definitions of academic honesty and dishonesty also vary according to culture.

A second area commented on was the lack of structured ways in which students coming from other countries and cultures can learn about American culture. Obviously, all colleges offer courses in American civilization, history, society, and literature. But in many cases these are not required, and examples where such courses are targeted to the needs of specific cultural groups are rare. Panelists specifically referred to a need for courses that treat the experience of their and other immigrant groups in America.

Finally, panel participants noted a general lack of strategies that would help students brought up in other cultures learn to cope with the problems and conflicts that emerge from the cultural transition they are making, including, for some, the conflict of living at home in one

culture while experiencing another culture at college. Yet another factor with which some students from other cultures must learn to contend is racism; approaches are needed to help defray the emotional and other costs this painful reality can exact.

Some roundtables viewed the acquisition of cultural knowledge and the personal skills required in dealing with a new cultural milieu not only as essential for their integration into American society in general but also as critical to students' success in college. For many of the students involved, especially those new to Western values and customs, the process of learning about, understanding, and ultimately incorporating the cultural norms of an environment that is alien and, in fact, that may sometimes even seem hostile to their own, can be long and arduous.

Implications for the Standard Curriculum

Data presented in Part I and in Appendix Table 12 show that students born abroad and in Puerto Rico do not differ significantly in their degree expectations from students born in the United States. Still the presence of these students in growing numbers at all CUNY colleges does hold important implications for the standard curriculum and for curricular planning. The desirability of greater integration of ESL with subject matter instruction has been extensively discussed. The possibility of courses in American civilization, history, society, and literature targeted to non-native students has been suggested. One can imagine a rethinking of the general education sequence of courses at each college of the University by the year 2000, so that it may better fulfill its purposes with respect to that half of the student population born abroad or in Puerto Rico.

What has thus far received little attention is capitalizing on the educational assets many non-native students bring with them to the University. First and foremost among these is foreign language proficiency. It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that, taking into account both non native-born and first-generation native-born students, **at least half of CUNY's student population is bi-lingual or capable of becoming so with a minimum of effort. This is a tremendous pool of linguistic talent that no other university in the country can claim.** Even a student with only oral knowledge of his or her family's mother tongue will be able to learn to read and write it much more rapidly than a native English speaker. Many CUNY students have capabilities or potential in foreign languages which are highly in demand. Recent studies indicate that in hiring, US employers are beginning to value second language proficiency more highly. In a

competitive job market, the ability to speak, read, and write a second language often gives candidates an important edge.[3]

Another area that should be taken into account is mathematics and science. Data presented in Part I and Appendix Table 9 show that non-native students are slightly more likely to pass the math assessment test than native-born students. It was the conclusion of the CUNY ESL Task Force that "large numbers of ESL students enter with stronger high school math backgrounds than all other groups of students."[4] At roundtables representing Asia, Eastern Europe, Israel, the Middle East, and Western Europe, panelists spoke of the high level of math and science preparation of students from their communities and of the feelings of frustration many of them experience when these skills are not recognized by the University. Future curricular planning will have to consider how best to build on these assets.*

At a number of panels, the question of more ethnic and area-studies courses and programs arose. Among some country of origin groups, these were seen as highly desirable and greatly needed in order that students from the groups might maintain their cultural identity. Other country of origin groups prized assimilation and expressed little interest in holding on to their native culture. Any curricular planning on this matter must take into account the differing orientations of the various groups.

Academic Counseling and Advisement

There was wide consensus among the colleges surveyed that more support should be available to non-native students, specifically in the areas of counseling and academic advising. And it was the nearly uniform opinion of survey respondents and panel participants that support services need to be more finely tailored to suit the special needs of the various non-native student populations. In a number of roundtable discussions, it was also noted that differing cultural heritages and behavioral norms may influence the immigrant and Puerto Rican students, who might profit the most, to avoid seeking support.**

** It should be noted that in 1994-95 an innovative program was in place at Brooklyn College which gives a year's immersion training in English and education to Eastern European degree holders. At the end of the year, they can qualify as math or science teachers, the need for which is enormous in the New York City public schools.*

*** Interestingly, the data cited in Part I indicate that non-native students are, in fact, more frequent users of support services than are US-born students. Of course, such students still may not seek help as often as they may need it.*

Many respondents, both from the community and from CUNY colleges, suggested that counselors who speak the languages of those students from the largest immigrant groups would provide a great service, given that many of these students are unaware of American academic culture and customs as noted above. Non-Western students especially are in need of basic information and explanations about college life in the US, such as how the institution is organized, what services are available, when it is appropriate to request help or to appeal a decision; in short, where to go, whom to see, what to ask for. One method suggested for disseminating this information to the many different immigrant communities was publishing written materials in several different languages. Such literature might cover such subjects as major and program requirements, guides to institutional resources, registration, and general administrative procedures.

It was widely felt that students who need assistance at the level of basic orientation to college will need even more guidance and support when it comes to selecting a major, understanding course sequencing, and planning their academic programs. Most institutions need more academic advisors who are sensitive to students' cultural differences and vulnerabilities as well as knowledgeable about academic program requirements. Assistance is also predictably insufficient at most institutions during registration periods, when non-native students may feel at a particular loss because of their unfamiliarity with the system, and for some, their limited English.

A related concern voiced by several respondents underscored the need for more careful academic advisement of students with prior university experience. Timely evaluation of transfer credits is critical for planning appropriate programs of study. Some panelists expressed frustration at delays in obtaining credit evaluations, and noted that this delay often results in duplicated course work and of loss of credits completed, all of which result in slower progress toward the degree than is necessary and, in some cases, needless use of financial aid eligibility.

Personal and Career Counseling

It was evident from several sources that the link between university study and preparation for the workplace is often an unfamiliar concept to students and to parents from other cultures who may consider the relationship of a university education to future employment to be only indirect, at best. Thus, many non-native students come to CUNY unprepared to choose their major with future employment trends in mind. Some may also have little idea how to go about

using college resources to seek out internships and part-time employment in their major field as an avenue for career development.

Panel participants also noted that when career goals are taken into account they are frequently defined by parents. Selection of majors and programs is often guided by the high esteem in which particular areas of study are held in home countries. Careers in science and engineering, for example, may be held in high regard, while study in the humanities or social sciences may be discouraged. Choices made may be conditioned by such perceptions and may well be at odds not only with the US job market but also with the students' own talents and aspirations. While it is scarcely unknown for US-born students to experience conflict in deciding whether to follow their own career goals or those set by their parents, such conflict is likely to be even more acute for students from other cultures. Many panel participants and survey respondents felt that the need for coordinated career and academic advising to help non-native students make well-informed choices is a pressing one.

Faculty and Staff Development

As students born abroad and in Puerto Rico come to comprise larger and larger segments of the student population in all CUNY colleges and in every area of study, the difficulties they face in the classroom with language, with unfamiliar teaching and learning styles, as well as with differing cultural values become more apparent. Many participants in the surveys and roundtables expressed the need for broadly-based faculty and staff development initiatives that would promote a greater understanding and awareness of the cultures of the various non US-born groups at the colleges and the cultural differences among them.

Informed and sensitive faculty and support staff can play the crucial role in bringing about the integration of non-native students into the college and in increasing their rate of progress toward a degree. Roundtables, surveys, and the ESL Task Force Report all recommended that opportunities be provided for faculty to examine their pedagogical methods critically and to develop teaching strategies that take into account the challenges their classes hold for non-native students. Also recommended were greater understanding and sensitivity on the part of faculty in matters related to assessment and evaluating student progress.

Issues of Special Concern to Each Country of Origin Group

The foregoing sections have summarized observations and recommendation that were common to the majority of survey responses and/or arose from a number of roundtable discussions. While these sections demonstrate an emerging consensus on a number of important matters, they mask some very real differences among the various country of origin groups. The following sections highlight issues of special concern that were voiced at each of the roundtable discussions. The unique nature of each of the country of origin groups will have to be taken into account as the University and its colleges formulate plans for the future. It should be noted that each roundtable discussion focused on three major areas: demographics, academic programs, and support services.

Asia. Students from Asia constitute an usually heterogeneous group as concerns their economic status, educational preparation, cultural orientation, and English language ability. Students from East Asia are likely to have severe English language deficits while students from the Indian sub-continent may well have received an English language education or have achieved a high degree of fluency in English. Many Asian students, if they have received secondary schooling in their country of origin, will be well prepared in mathematics and scientific subjects. Students from the Indian sub-continent often have had training in the humanities comparable to that of American secondary school graduates. Panel participants stated that all Asian students will need—and this was stressed in the roundtable discussion—course work in American history with emphasis on the Asian-American experience.

Most Asian students coming to CUNY are likely to come from relatively poor economic backgrounds, since CUNY is perceived in the Asian communities as being an appropriate University for children of families with limited financial resources. This perspective should be remembered in assessing the group's need for various services, but the University should also make strenuous efforts to strengthen CUNY's image in the various Asian communities and promote its high quality graduate and undergraduate programs.

Many Asian students are often under familial pressure to major in math and the natural sciences, sometimes against their own inclinations. In addition to the high regard in which these fields are held in Asian societies, there is the added difficulty faced by East Asian students as concerns the English language. East Asian languages are structurally so different from English that many students feel that they never will be able to master English sufficiently to major in the

humanities or the social sciences. For these students especially, programs which provide supplementary instruction in English after the completion of the standard ESL cycle are particularly important. Academic counselors who speak the first language of Asian students would be of great help in orienting students properly to the University and to the many possibilities open to them.

Caribbean. As with a number of roundtable groups, participants in the Caribbean panel emphasized a wide diversity of preparation among students from their communities entering CUNY. Some Caribbean students may have received an inadequate secondary education in their home country, depending on the types of school they attended, and some from rural areas may not even have attended school on a regular basis. Still others may have come to New York City at a young age and attended City public schools. And still others, usually well prepared for college-level work, have come to CUNY only because they failed to gain admission to the University of the West Indies, which has limited space.

While many Caribbean students speak English, some students speak an English-based patois and experience difficulties with standard written American English which are parallel to but different from those of ESL students. There is a tendency among such students to use the patois to create their own cultural milieu on campus. Although no one wishes to decrease students' sense of cultural identity, the question of their mastery of English must be forthrightly addressed, and the suggestion was made that a CUNY institute for patois speakers serving all colleges might be the answer. It was also noted that the skills of English speakers had declined since the mid-1980s and that the number of patois speakers is likely to increase.

Many students who have received most of their prior education in Caribbean schools find it difficult to make a transition to American learning styles and testing styles. While such students have little trouble with essay questions, they need practice in the skills required for multiple choice exams because of a lack of familiarity with this testing format.

Students coming from the Caribbean are likely to be attracted by the law and by health sciences. While it was recognized that the University is expanding programs which prepare students to enter the health professions, consideration might be given to targeting pre-law programs to Caribbean students at those colleges which have a large Caribbean enrollment. Consideration might also be given to programs which integrate political science and Caribbean

studies. Members of the Caribbean community believe that the University should expand the programs offered in Caribbean studies at a number of colleges and would also welcome student and faculty exchanges with Caribbean countries. The relative absence of mentors and role models for Caribbean students among CUNY faculty and staff was also the subject of concern.

Dominican Republic. In the past, many Dominican immigrants were professionals who came to CUNY to earn a second degree; more recently the trend has been to younger, less academically prepared Dominicans. A majority of the GED graduates who enter the University are Latinos, and a significant number of Dominicans are included in that number. English language instruction is, of course, of prime concern when one assesses the needs of these students, but, given the slender educational base that many of them have, the possibility that they might lose fluency in Spanish, while not rapidly acquiring fluency in English, is a real danger. Academic plans must take into account the asset fluency in Spanish offers to Dominican students and make available opportunities to preserve and enhance it.

Many participants in the roundtable stressed the importance of linking English language instruction and instruction in subject matter areas. While this same concern was voiced by a number of the non-English speaking panels, nowhere was it more keenly felt than with the Dominican. Of concern, as well, was the provision of credit bearing courses in social sciences that would help students bridge the cultural gap between the Dominican Republic and the United States. Students at the roundtable spoke of the importance of offering the right courses at the right time. One reason some students take longer than they should to graduate is simply their inability to get the courses that they need at a time they can take them. Panelists suggested that colleges should tailor block programs to meet the particular needs of Dominicans and other immigrant groups if at all possible.

According to the roundtables, a majority of Dominican students would like to study law, medicine, psychology and political science. However, the University is perceived in the Dominican community as promoting nursing, computer science, and other programs that meet the needs of the labor market. There may be a mismatch between what students want to study and what the University or the community thinks they want to study. In any case, concern was expressed that the University provide programs in business particularly aimed at Dominicans in order to allow this group to acquire fundamental business skills. This is an area of significance to

the Dominican community, which feels itself at a disadvantage because of the relative lack of community members with business training.

Eastern Europe. In considering the various categories of students born in Eastern Europe, participants in the Eastern European roundtable felt that it was important to distinguish between refugees and immigrants. Both groups are sizeable and are likely to contain a high proportion of well-educated individuals, though difficulties in evaluating prior academic work are common, and, indeed, few refugees come with the appropriate documents. Refugees are eligible for a variety of government services not immediately available to most classes of immigrants. There are likely to be few students among those born in Eastern Europe who intend to return to their country of birth after finishing their education. Most hope to remain in the United States. As a result, issues of acculturation loom particularly large for them; there is less interest in studying the civilization of their country of birth than with many groups.

Prime among their concerns is mastering standard written American English. Most students coming from Eastern Europe will not have had high quality ESL instruction in their country of birth. What instruction they have had in English has been heavily influenced by students' mother tongues. It was noted, for example, that academic writing in Russian is quite different from English. Another source of concern is the fact that students educated in Eastern Europe have often not been trained in critical thinking. Many instinctively believe that there is a single "right" answer to every question, and thus have a difficult time in many courses in the humanities and social sciences and in writing essays. It was also felt that courses in American history and culture targeted to Eastern European students would be most useful.

Eastern European students very much need information on the American system of education, the organization of American universities, and the purposes which education serves in the United States. In many parts of Eastern Europe there is a tradition of study for study's sake with little thought of careers. Students coming from Eastern Europe are more in need, perhaps, than most for integrated academic and career counseling. It was also noted that CUNY faculty need to be informed about academic mores in Eastern Europe: for example, the fact that there is virtually no concept of cheating, and that students routinely help each other with any assigned work. Students coming from Eastern Europe are quite likely to require legal services, and it was suggested that the CUNY Law School might be able to assess their needs and offer assistance.

While no particular academic programs seemed to be of more importance than others to this group, Eastern European students experience significant problems with English. They thus find the humanities and the social sciences especially challenging. On the other hand, they are likely to have received more extensive training in math and the physical sciences in secondary school in their home country than native-born American students would have received in the United States.

Israel. When discussing the needs of students born in Israel, it is essential to distinguish between those who have been brought up and who have gone to school in the US and those who have received their secondary education in Israel, who have come to this country to go to college and who, in most cases, intend to return to Israel. The first group is likely to share many of the characteristics of CUNY's native-born student population. The second is rather different from other categories of students coming from abroad. Israeli students are likely to be older, having completed their military service before their arrival in the US. They may come for a variety of reasons: It is something of a tradition for Israeli young people to travel after the completion of their military service; education at CUNY can be less expensive than education in Israel; Israeli universities are highly competitive and have a limited number of places. Students coming directly from Israel are likely to be highly motivated. In many cases, they come for graduate work. They often make no attempt at acculturation because they consider themselves transient.

These students tend to focus on professional programs rather than the liberal arts, following the pattern of Israeli education. They are likely to have received excellent ESL instruction in secondary school in Israel and have a good grasp of English, at least of spoken English. In terms of English language instruction, they would benefit most from writing workshops targeted to Hebrew speakers, rather than standard ESL courses or remedial writing courses. Many will also have received excellent instruction in math and natural science.

There are several academic questions to be resolved with regard to students coming directly from Israel. One is whether credit should be awarded for the Israeli *bagrut* degree as is done for the French *baccalauréat* and certain advanced level British and Caribbean examinations. Another is whether credit should be awarded for military service, if only physical education credit. And then there is a whole series of issues involved in the transfer of credits for students who have had prior college experience in Israel, given differences in the grading systems.

On several campuses, Israeli students have proven to be very effective peer advisers, and, in general, Israeli students provide a strong support system for one another. At the roundtable discussion, the hope was expressed that when Israeli graduate students complete their studies and return to Israel they can establish ties for the further development of joint research projects and student and faculty exchanges.

Middle East. Panelists noted that many immigrants from the Middle East are well trained, well educated, young and male, and come from middle-class backgrounds. While there are few Middle Eastern women students at present, this is likely to change in the future as families who immigrate to this country with young children become accustomed to the idea of sending their daughters to college.

American learning styles tend to be especially problematic for Middle Eastern students, as there is a strong tradition to focus on memorization rather than analysis. Many Middle Eastern students have a science background equal to or superior to that of CUNY freshmen. However, it was felt that the system does not appreciate this background, and students are routinely placed in remedial classes because of language difficulties. Middle Eastern students may not know the full range of appropriate majors; they are skeptical about the humanities and reflexively tend to major in engineering. Middle East panelists suggested that CUNY consider a special ESL center for foreign-born students.

Concerning student services, it was proposed that CUNY might support ethnic clubs which would serve the dual purpose of providing support for non-native students while providing American-born students with opportunities for learning about other cultures. Such organizations might also provide assistance in finding housing and translating documents, two problems of particular concern to Middle Eastern students. Several voices suggested that Middle Eastern students have felt discriminated against in extra-curricular activities and that colleges have sometimes been insensitive to Muslim religious concerns.

Mexico/South and Central America. Panelists noted that immigrants coming from Mexico/South and Central America report higher levels of educational attainment than do other Latinos in the United States. Many students from this community in New York City have had good high school educations in their home countries and are well prepared for college; some have had higher education experience. A fair number come from middle-class families, although there

are certainly many from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In the community there is a marked tendency to believe that private education is best at all levels; children are routinely sent to private colleges if that is within a family's means. This is likely to change as families become more accustomed to the United States and its culture. Younger children will begin to be sent to public schools, and hence more will eventually enter CUNY.

It was noted that political and social conditions in certain countries may result in increased immigration in the near future, and that these future immigrants may not be as well prepared academically as many of the current students from this region. A certain number of current students are children of refugee families from Central America who have been raised in this country. Having been to school here, they confront many of the same difficulties that other Latino students who have been educated in the New York City public schools contend with.

One major academic concern expressed was that students whose native language is Spanish were, in many instances, being poorly advised. Some were placed in language courses which are too easy for them and which do not address their needs in developing their knowledge of Spanish. A greater availability of two tracks of Spanish classes, such as now exist at LaGuardia Community College, one for native speakers of Spanish and one for non-native speakers, would be helpful. On the other hand, some Spanish-speaking students with weak reading and writing skills in their native language bypass language courses for advanced literature courses where they do poorly.

As in all of the roundtable discussions, ESL instruction received sustained comment. Many students coming from this region have unrealistic expectations about how long it will take them to learn English and earn a degree. The importance of tutoring and small classes was stressed, and the suggestion was made that CUNY should establish an International House.

Western Europe. At the roundtable discussion there was general agreement that CUNY would become increasingly attractive to Western European students. In many European countries, there are too few university places available for the demand. Also, many Western European young people, concerned about future employment prospects in Europe, will come here to study, and will immigrate if they get a job in this country. CUNY is attractive to many European students because of its low cost, and because it offers the possibility of a broader education than that available in most European contexts. The Irish form a special category in that

Irish immigrants will probably receive a large share of the DV-1 visas in the near future, and this, in all likelihood, will result in an increased number of Irish students at CUNY.

Students from non-English-speaking Western European countries are likely to have a good background in English, although they may have initial difficulties expressing themselves orally. Most will probably need training in "academic" English. Students entering college directly from Western Europe are likely to be well prepared academically. Indeed, since the final years of European secondary schooling are generally equivalent to the first years of college in this country, European students may appropriately bypass introductory for higher level courses. The CUNY system needs to devote attention to the academic evaluation of students coming from Europe, as existing guidelines in a number of cases seem to be obsolete.

Panelists did, however, make a distinction between academic and cultural preparation and felt that Western European students, like those coming from many regions of the world, are unfamiliar with both American history and culture and university life in America. Colleges might address the first need through courses targeted at newly-arrived students. Orientation to university life might best be handled through an increased awareness on the part of instructors of the difficulties faced by Western European students and by peer advisement.

In terms of academic programs, there was general agreement that Western European students are most likely to be attracted by programs in business and economics, the health professions, and communications.

Puerto Rico. Panelists noted that while retention of Puerto Rican-born students has increased in the public schools, there were fewer Puerto Ricans attending college in New York City in 1990 than in 1980. It was felt that the University ought to be most concerned about the large population of Puerto Ricans between the ages of 25 and 45 who have not completed college. They are likely to have been born in Puerto Rico but raised in the United States. CUNY should find ways to recruit members of this group or to facilitate their re-entry into college.

Part of the problem may be that of low expectations. A 1988 study cited by one of the panel participants showed that 29.4% of Puerto Rican eighth-grade students do not expect to attend college. Education beyond secondary schooling for many Puerto Ricans seems out of reach. If they do manage to enter college, some Puerto Rican students may well believe that they cannot succeed. They require a great deal of academic support and would be helped by the

presence of more Puerto Rican faculty who could act as mentors and role models. It was noted that island-educated Puerto Rican students are likely to have defined higher expectations for themselves.

Panelists noted that better articulation is needed between high schools and colleges. A recent survey of 6,000 Puerto Rican high school and university students found that many were not well prepared in math, science and English because of skill deficiencies, and some 40% drop out after two years.*

Concern was expressed that many Puerto Rican students may have fallen between the cracks with regard to language assessment at the elementary and secondary levels. It was suggested that many Puerto Rican parents do not want their children to participate in bilingual programs because they do not want to be stereotyped as inmigrants. Others urged that the University consider more dual language program offerings.

Several speakers urged expansion of Puerto Rican studies programs both to provide a sense of community for Puerto Rican students and to facilitate for others an understanding of Puerto Rican culture. The question of increased collaboration with universities in Puerto Rico was also explored. While such arrangements might bring more Puerto Rican exchange students to CUNY, care would have to be taken to orient island-educated students to teaching and communication styles that are quite different from those in use in Puerto Rico. At the same time, transfer arrangements between CUNY and schools in Puerto Rico could be improved.

Relationships to the Community

A final word might be added about the support non-native students may be able to draw from their communities. In several of the roundtable discussions, participants noted that in most immigrant communities and in the Puerto Rican community there are agencies which provide a wide array of social and educational services to community members. Stronger linkages between these agencies and the University could be used to establish a network through which to disseminate accurate and appropriate information about the University. These agencies might also provide a valuable service for the students concerned, relieving college and University administrative offices

** It should be noted that CUNY's CPI seeks to address just this problem through close collaboration between the University and the New York City public high schools.*

of some of the work involved in advising non-native students, especially during busy admissions and registration periods. For example, community leaders pointed out that workshops organized in conjunction with community agencies could be held in a number of areas of crucial importance: the programs and services offered by the University and its various colleges; completing admissions applications; admissions testing procedures; obtaining financial aid. Early meetings with parent groups and potential students might also be facilitated through such agency linkages.

In addition, many non-native students entering the University have complicated needs involving social service agencies and bureaus. Comments from chief student affairs officers at various colleges indicated that students' progress is often impeded because of problems involving housing, immigration, and public assistance. In cooperation with community organizations, the University might be able to assist non-native students to navigate more easily through the various city, state, and federal bureaucracies by providing accurate information and appropriate referrals.

PART III

PROFILES OF NINE IMMIGRANT CATEGORIES AND THEIR SUB-GROUPS AND OF ISLAND-BORN PUERTO RICANS

In order to present a broader picture of the portion of the CUNY student body not born in the United States and to achieve a more complete understanding of the communities from which these students come, Part III of our report offers profiles of nine major immigrant groups as well as a profile of island-born Puerto Ricans residing in New York City. These profiles provide details for each group on the following matters: its immigration or migration history; its geographical distribution throughout the New York City area, characteristics of age, sex, economic status in the home country, and educational background; the group's progress in the United States as indicated by work, economic status and proficiency in English.

The material in this part furnishes a context for interpreting the information derived from the roundtable discussions and the college surveys presented in Part II, particularly in those sections dealing with students' educational preparation for college, their requirements in the area of English language instruction, and their needs for academic and personal counseling, by providing a picture of the character and historical experience of the entire community to which the student belongs. The profiles also serve to clarify many of the issues of special concern to each country of origin group. Given that most CUNY colleges are able to identify several major country of origin groups among their non-American student body, and, indeed, a number of colleges serve immigrant communities that are geographically proximate to them, these profiles will provide additional bases on which to formulate plans for addressing the needs of our foreign-born student population in the year 2000.

Manhattan

% Foreign Born

- 0 to 11
- 11 to 17
- 17 to 23
- 23 to 32
- 32 to 76

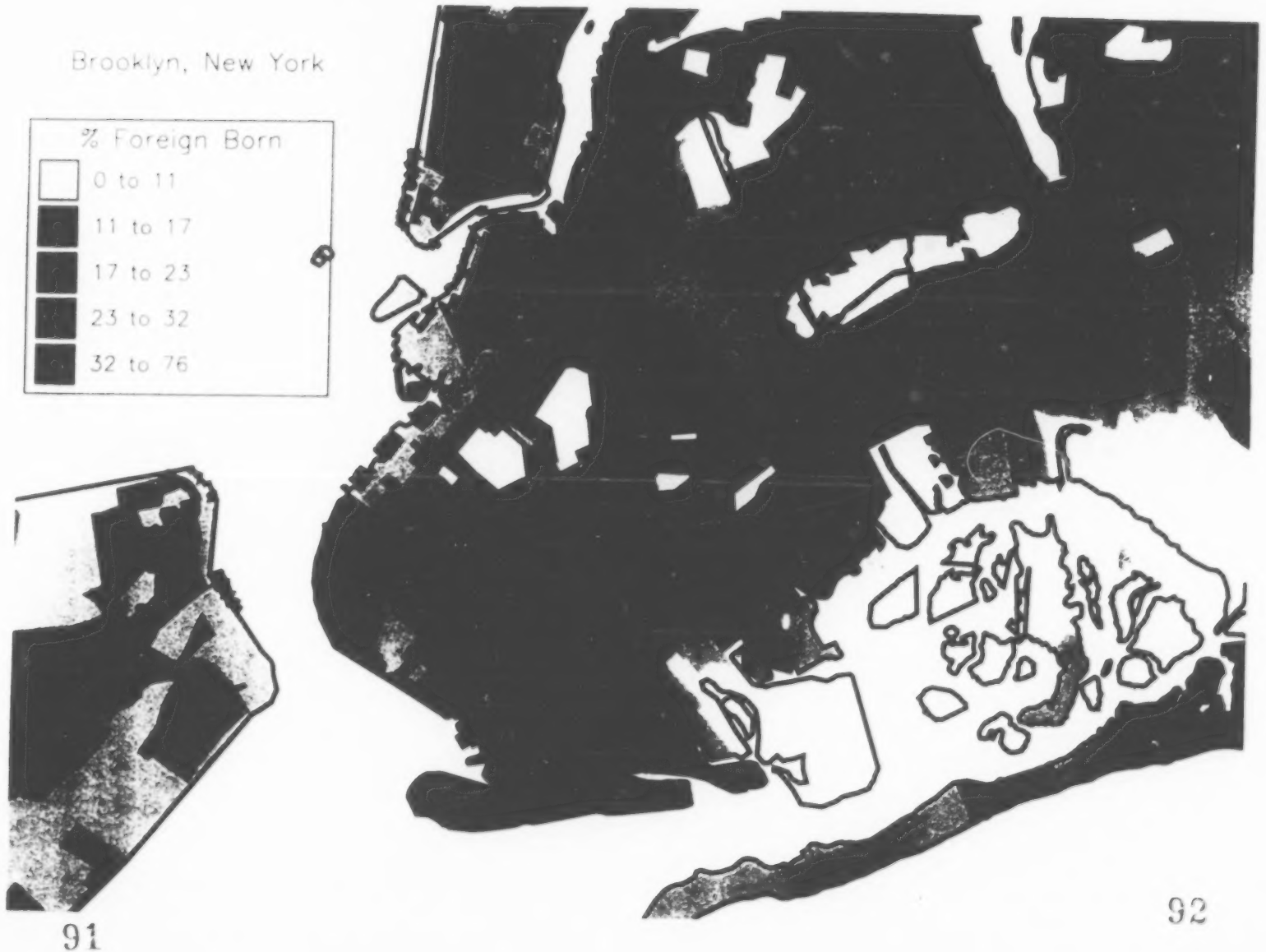
% Foreign Born
0 to 11
11 to 17
17 to 23
23 to 32
32 to 76
Bronx, New York

87

83

Queens, New York
% Foreign Born
0 to 11
11 to 17
17 to 23
23 to 32
32 to 76

Brooklyn, New York



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Staten Island, New York

93

94

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GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Like their predecessors, the new immigrant groups are struggling to create new lives for themselves, enriching and diversifying the New York City economy, and revitalizing old neighborhoods. Without foreign-born workers and migrants from Puerto Rico, many industries would have suffered greatly. Manufacturing, especially the garment industry, would have declined even more severely. Immigrant labor has also been crucial to the growth of such service industries as hotels, restaurants, and health care institutions. Immigrant and Puerto Rican enterprises, serving both ethnic enclaves and broader markets, have greatly diversified consumer choice.

Foreign-born New Yorkers are a highly diverse lot—more so now than at any previous point in the City's history. As the profiles in this part of the report make clear, it is difficult to generalize about them. Nevertheless, some broad observations can be made. While the last century's immigrants were overwhelmingly European, the largest concentrations of new immigrants to New York come from the Caribbean Basin, Latin America and East Asia. Compared to other cities which currently receive many immigrants, the large concentration of Caribbeans in New York is particularly striking. Caribbean immigrants are a major presence only in New York and to a lesser extent in South Florida. Only recently have immigrants from Mexico and Central America become a significant factor in the City's demographic makeup. Another recent development has been the resurgence of Eastern European immigration, most of which is made up of young people from Jewish backgrounds from the former Soviet Union.

The pre-migratory experiences of the various groups differ widely: some are predominantly well-educated professionals, while others come from poor or working-class backgrounds. In some cases, migration from a given country is dominated by a particular class, regional group or ethnic group of the home country population. In other cases, those who leave are broadly representative of the sending society. Over time, however, migratory "streams" broaden generally to include a wider distribution of the home country's population. For example, in the early 1960s, Cuban, Haitian and Dominican immigrants were overwhelmingly middle and upper-class political refugees, while Jamaican immigrants were generally from the urban middle class. Today, immigrants from these Caribbean nations hail from virtually every sector of the society—from the richest to the poorest. Similarly, in the 1970s Soviet immigrants were

overwhelmingly urban, well educated Ashkenazi Jews. Today the group includes a broader spectrum of immigrants, many from non-European parts of the former Soviet Union.

The immigrants also vary in the roles they occupy in the social structure of New York City. Some are concentrated in immigrant niches within the economy while others are more broadly distributed. Social scientists have argued about whether economic concentration in an "ethnic enclave" is a good or bad thing for workers. Some maintain that these enclaves provide opportunities for advancement for people with little English and no "American" credentials. Others counter that these ethnic industries often pay lower wages and provide harsher working conditions than those found in the mainstream economy.

The different groups also have different assets and vulnerabilities concerning the economic changes we may anticipate in the coming decades. For example, while English-speaking Caribbeans frequently hold low-wage jobs, they generally work in the expanding service sectors. By contrast, the fact that Dominicans are concentrated in declining manufacturing sectors is a cause for concern. Despite the stereotype of the immigrant-entrepreneur, groups also vary greatly in terms of self-employment, from extremely high in the case of Koreans, to well below that of natives in the case of some Caribbean groups.

Another important indicator of the role of immigrants and island-born Puerto Ricans that we will highlight is the gender distribution within the groups. Generally speaking, an even distribution between men and women indicates the migration of whole families. Traditionally, this has been associated with groups intending to migrate permanently. A migratory group dominated by young men, as is the case among Arab and African immigrants, may indicate that they remain tied to families and other social networks in the "home country" and may view their stay in the US as temporary (although, of course, this may change over time). Finally, in the case of the Philippines and several Caribbean-sending societies, the migratory group is dominated by single women. This is quite unusual in the history of American immigration, and its implications for patterns of child raising and marriage outside the group remain to be seen.

The groups also display different levels of residential concentration. As Maps 1-5 indicate, immigrants now live in most New York City neighborhoods and form a majority in many. The degree of residential concentration varies across and within immigrant groups. Those who are recent immigrants, poor, and of African ancestry, tend to be more concentrated, while those who

have been here for some period, are better off, are Latino or Asian, and tend to be more dispersed.

Racial segregation frames these patterns but does not entirely determine them. Blacks are highly segregated from Whites as well as from Asians in the City. To a lesser degree, Latinos are also segregated from Whites and Blacks but are more likely to live near Asians. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Central Americans tend to be somewhat intermixed in Latino areas, but Puerto Ricans and Dominicans who identify themselves as Black tend to live nearer non-Latino Blacks and farther from Whites. Afro-Caribbeans have settled on the peripheries of the main native-born African-Americans areas, not in their centers. In short, Latino and Asian groups occupy the spaces between the historic zones of settlement for native-born Whites and Blacks, with Asians the farthest away from Blacks.

Within these broad patterns, certain groups tend to cluster in specific locations. For example, Dominicans are most concentrated in Washington Heights, Caribbeans and Haitians in Flatbush (Brooklyn), Chinese in the traditional Chinatown north and east of City Hall in Manhattan and in the new Chinatowns of Sunset Park (Brooklyn) and Elmhurst and Flushing (Queens), and South Americans in Jackson Heights (Queens). However, even highly concentrated immigrant groups are considerably less segregated than are African Americans. In many areas identified with a certain group, the "dominant" group actually makes up less than half of the area's population. While there are parts of New York with Chinese majorities, most Chinese New Yorkers do not live in them.

One particularly interesting development is the emergence of new, pan-ethnic residential concentrations: the Asian concentration in Flushing and Elmhurst Queens, for example, is, in its own way, a new sort of melting pot, in which Chinese, Korean, Southeast Asian and Indian immigrants live together and may in the process be creating a new "Asian-American" identity.

It should also be kept in mind that ethnic residential concentrations are not the same thing as the far more visible concentrations of immigrant commercial enterprises. Some groups have established highly successful commercial strips which have taken on important symbolic functions without being surrounded by residential concentrations. The Indian business concentration in Jackson Heights and the Arab business concentration along Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn are both located in areas where few members of these groups actually live. Conversely, Southeast Asians have developed a considerable residential concentration in the Bronx without developing anything like a viable business center.

Since local political representation is largely organized along neighborhood lines, residential concentration may facilitate political mobilization. It is no surprise that highly residentially concentrated groups such as Caribbeans and Dominicans have thus far achieved more success in electing representatives from among their populations than have more dispersed groups like Koreans and Indians.

In considering the following profiles, it is tempting to compare contemporary migrants to New York with those who shaped the City a century ago. Such comparisons must, however be made with caution. Earlier immigrants were far more diverse than we sometimes remember: some came from highly urbanized societies, others from peasant backgrounds. Furthermore, contemporary immigrants and island-born Puerto Ricans are being incorporated into an economic and political structure that bears little resemblance to that of the early decades of this century, and it appears, on the whole, that today's immigrants are better educated than those of the past. Whether this education is sufficient to deal with the demands of a credential-oriented service sector economy is less clear. Today's immigrants are less likely to come from peasant backgrounds, and even those from rural areas are more likely to arrive well acquainted with wage labor. They are also more likely to pursue education once here. Indeed, while the colleges that were to become CUNY were filled with the children of immigrants earlier in this century, today, as we saw in Part I, more and more of our students are the immigrants themselves.

As was true in the last century, the rates of naturalization for contemporary immigrants vary. Several factors seem to affect the propensity to naturalize. Groups committed to staying in the United States tend to naturalize faster than those for which rates of return migration are high. Immigrants from countries where many people want to come to the United States often naturalize in order to sponsor their relatives. Conversely immigrants from nations where out-migration pressure is relatively low and where return is a viable option, such as most Western European countries, tend to naturalize at a very low rate. Other factors being equal, immigrants from countries that recognize dual citizenship tend to naturalize faster than those from countries that do not.

Finally, while most immigrants prior to 1924 were European, the new immigrants arriving in New York after the Hart-Celler immigration reforms of 1965 come from non-European countries, especially from Latin America and Asia. The rapid growth in the number of Latino and Asian New Yorkers means, in effect, that the City no longer has one dominant racial group.

Neither Whites nor Blacks, as traditionally defined, are likely to form a clear majority of the population in the coming decades. Exactly what that will mean for New York's racial and ethnic relations in the next century remains to be seen.

As it did a century ago, the City thus serves as a living experiment on how other cities and the country will respond to its new residents. How New York City includes its new immigrants and the new migrants from Puerto Rico in its economic, cultural, and political fabric will determine whether the City will make as much progress between now and 2020 as it did between 1890 and the 1930s, when the previous immigrant generation—and indeed the City itself—came of economic, cultural, and political age. As E.B. White wrote forty-five years ago, "the collision and the intermingling of these millions of foreign-born people representing so many races and creeds make New York a permanent exhibit of the phenomenon of one world. The citizens of New York are tolerant not only from disposition but from necessity." It is equally true today that the struggle of our "new immigrants" to become part of the economic, cultural, and political fabric of the City will redefine what it means to be a CUNY student, and by extension a New Yorker and an American.

GROUP AND SUB-GROUP PROFILES

1. Caribbean Immigrants*

The chronic overpopulation, scarce resources, seclusion, and limited opportunities of these small island nations have long made migration a principal strategy for Caribbeans who have sought economic opportunity.[1] The first wave of Caribbean immigration to New York City began at the turn of this century and reached significant numbers between 1907 and 1924. Even after the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in the US in 1924, anglophone Caribbeans continued to enter the US under the under-utilized British quota. While the flow had virtually halted during the 1930s, it resumed after World War II with a smaller but steady stream of middle-class professionals and entrepreneurs.[2]

** In this profile, "Caribbean" will mean "anglophone and francophone Caribbean" and will also include Guyana, an English speaking nation on the northern coast of South American with strong ties to the anglophone Caribbean.*

In the early 1960s, two important developments redirected a major flow of Caribbean and Haitian immigrants to New York. The British government severely restricted Commonwealth immigration in 1962, and in 1965, the Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act eliminated the national quota system that had been established in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1924. In the subsequent 10 years, Caribbean immigration to the US exceeded the total of the previous 70 years. Legal immigration from the anglophone Caribbean grew to 50,000 by the early 1980s, while another 6,000 to 8,000 were arriving annually from Haiti. Half of these immigrants settled in New York City.[3]

This cohort of immigrants has included the entire social spectrum of Caribbean societies: well-educated urbanites seeking to protect their wealth in unstable economies; children of the middle class searching for broader opportunities; and large numbers of poor aspiring to more than subsistence. Though political developments in the region account for certain peaks in migration from the area, most recently from Haiti, the migratory flow has risen steadily even from the most stable nations, prompted in part by the ubiquitous US economic, political, military, and cultural influence in the Caribbean.[4] High unemployment in the sending nations (from 15 to 25% and even higher in Jamaica) has been an important factor, as well, affecting the young more than others. For instance, during the entire period since 1972, the unemployment rate for Jamaicans under age 24 has remained consistently above 40%, rising above 50% in 1980.[5] The situation is not significantly different in the other island countries.

Though New York's Caribbeans originate from 23 countries, since 1965 Jamaica has accounted for over a third and Guyana just under a third. Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago send together nearly as many as Guyana, with Barbados also sending a significant number. However, the timing for the groups has varied. Many Haitians came in the late 1960s and the flow did not increase much in the 1980s, while the number of Jamaicans increased dramatically in the 1980s, as did the number of Guyanese.

Analysis of the 1990 PUMS* data shows that the anglophone and francophone Caribbean immigrants of the last decade tend to be more female than male, are relatively concentrated in the prime working years, have relatively high rates of single-parent families (though not as high as for

** Public Use Microdata Sample [PUMS], US Bureau of the Census, 1990. All subsequent references to tables refer to this data source.*

Dominican or Puerto Rican immigrants), and good facility with English. They also have relatively high labor-force participation, with multiple workers in the typical family, relatively low rates of poverty, and a significant portion of high-income households. Reflecting this involvement in the labor force, a relatively high percentage of those aged 3-25 are not in school, and the proportion with college education is below that among Asian and European immigrants, but above that for Latino immigrants. A relatively low proportion of pre-1980 immigrants have become citizens, reflecting continuing links to the home island and often the desire to retire there.

Jamaicans. After the Dominican Republic, Jamaica is the largest sending country of New York City immigrants. The push factor for Jamaicans has been primarily economic. Factors that have caused Jamaica's low level of economic development include the remnants of the plantation system; the domination of transnational corporations and neocolonial governments; the inability of tourism, manufacturing, construction, and bauxite—the dominant, non-agricultural industries in the post-World War II period—to generate employment; as well as Jamaica's struggle with inflation.[6]

About half of Jamaican immigrants to the US live in New York City.[7] Brooklyn claims 45.1% of Jamaicans, the Bronx 26.8% [Appendix Table 18]. Jamaicans are most heavily concentrated in central and East Flatbush, having moved southward from their initial settlement in Crown Heights. Lesser numbers of other Caribbeans have joined them to create a new Caribbean commercial and residential zone whose life is celebrated vigorously every year in the Caribbean Day Parade on Eastern Parkway. Other important areas of Jamaican settlement include Southeast Queens and the North Central Bronx.

According to the 1990 Census, the Jamaican population has a higher proportion of females (58.2%) than any other immigrant group, although this percentage drops to 53.8% for those arriving during the 1980s. The proportion of single-parent families is high (43.1%). Because of their large numbers, the 8 to 14 year-old and 18 to 24 year-old cohorts are large, though not disproportional to the total of Jamaicans [Appendix Table 13].

That English is spoken on the island is a definite advantage for Jamaicans over non-English speaking immigrants. The percentage of school-age children not in school (32.9%, Appendix Table 14) is lower than that of Spanish-speaking immigrants but significantly higher than that of Asians. A higher proportion of Jamaicans (14%) have college degrees than other

Caribbean or Latino immigrant groups, and participation in the labor force is high for both men and women. With 51.5% of pre-1980 arriving Jamaicans in households with income over $40,000, only the affluent, highly educated Asian groups have had more success achieving middle-class incomes [Appendix Table 15].

As native English speakers, Jamaicans have entered many service industries, especially in the health field where 32.2% of post-1980 female arrivals are concentrated [Appendix Table 16]. Given the very low figures for most immigrants, a relatively high proportion of Jamaicans (10.6%) also work in finance. Jamaican men are concentrated in construction (16.2%, Appendix Table 17), presumably in the non-unionized, small scale strata of that industry. A recent study indicates that a relatively high proportion of Jamaicans are managers and professionals and this is explained partly by the high number of female nurses who arrived in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Nonetheless, the proportion of Jamaican managers and professionals remains well below those of native-born White groups.[8] Given their long history of migration to New York, a relatively high proportion of Jamaicans has attained citizenship (38.0%) compared to other Caribbean immigrants.

Guyanese. A member of the British Commonwealth, Guyana became independent from the United Kingdom in 1966. English is Guyana's official language, though an English-based Creole dialect is also spoken. Guyanese immigration grew considerably in the 1980s, when over 40,000 arrived in the City, and the rate appears to be increasing. At the close of the 1980s, Guyanese immigrants ranked as the City's fourth largest incoming group.

While other Caribbean nations also have citizens of non-African descent, approximately half of Guyana's population is of Indian and other Asian ancestry. While African Guyanese are predominant among immigrants to New York, since 1980, the Asian Guyanese are increasingly participating in the migration.*

Like other Caribbeans, the Guyanese have made extensive use of "chain migration," made possible by the family reunification provisions of the Hart-Cellar Act. For example, a recent

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* *Although born in Guyana, Asians have a cultural identity distinct from Guyanese of African descent, and how they form their identity in the City varies. Some settle in Indian neighborhoods, others settle with African Guyanese and other Caribbeans. Consequently, how the cultural and political identity of Asian Caribbeans will evolve in the City is far from clear.* Philip Kasinitz, Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race *(Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992).*

Daily News special edition documented what it considered was a typical example in which a single Guyanese immigrant with alien status in the mid-1960s resulted in the eventual arrival of 22 Guyanese, 13 of whom were immediate family members and nine of whom belonged to branches of the family.[9]

During the 1980s, most Guyanese settled in Brooklyn, comprising over 10% of the total immigrant population in that borough. They live near and interspersed with others of Caribbean origin in Flatbush and East Flatbush. (Asian Guyanese, however, may also be found nearer the Indian concentrations in Queens.) Guyanese constituted 9% of the immigrant population in the Bronx and nearly 10% in Queens, with concentrations in Jamaica and Richmond Hill.

Like other Caribbeans, many Guyanese women immigrated because of the ease in finding jobs as nurses, secretaries, and domestic helpers contrasted to the difficulty in entering occupations more typically filled by men. Thus, 53% of the Guyanese arriving after 1980 were women. Guyanese are less likely to be in prime working years and more likely to be younger compared to the others in their grouping. Consequently, the college-age cohort (18 to 24 year olds) is 14.5% of the total population, a high proportion compared to other groups [Appendix Table 13]. The eight to 14 year-old cohort is also proportionally larger than that of most groups (9%). The percentage of single parent households, however, is noticeably lower than for other Caribbean groups (29.9%). The percentage of school-age children not in school is relatively high (33.2%) and the percentage of college graduates is lower than those of the other Caribbean groups, 12.1% for those arriving before 1980 and 7.1% for the more recently arriving [Appendix Table 14].

Their poverty rates compare well with other Caribbeans, and, excepting the non-Chinese Asians, are among the lowest of the groups. Nonetheless, 36.7% of Guyanese families have three or more workers, second only to the figure for immigrants from Hong Kong, indicating that more of them must work in order to stay out of poverty [Appendix Table 15].

Guyanese men work in industries and occupations similar to those of other Caribbean men, with a particularly strong concentration in finance. They are less likely than other Caribbean men to be operatives or service workers, and more likely to be administrative support workers and managers or professionals [Appendix Table 17]. Guyanese women, too, perform the same kinds of jobs and in industries as do their female Caribbean counterparts, but they are also over-represented in clerical and administrative support work [Appendix Table 18].

Haitians. The first major, post-war outmigration of Haitians began with the ascendance of François Duvalier to political power in the late 1950s. The first wave of immigrants was typically made up of political opponents who settled throughout the French-speaking world, as well as the Caribbean and the US. When the US liberalized its immigration laws in 1965, the US became the target of a steady flow, the social spectrum of which broadened as the channel to New York deepened. Since the 1990 Census, the military coup against newly-elected President Aristide and a resurgence of terror, directed at poor and middle class alike, has provoked a new wave of Haitian refugees. The long reign of the corrupt Duvalier regime and its successors has also had disastrous economic consequences for much of the population; thus, economic motivation is intertwined with the political. Migration of Haitians to New York has operated in "chain" fashion, much as it has for other groups, with both kin and networks from particular communities in Haiti providing the links.[10]

Haitians are a smaller group in New York than English-speaking Afro-Caribbeans, but they too have been settling for a long time in Brooklyn, where 66.6% of all of New York's Haitians live. While Haitians live near Jamaicans, they have concentrated more towards the western edge of Flatbush in an area that tends to have more apartment buildings. There is also a secondary settlement in Southeast Queens, which claims 26%, but not in the part of the Bronx where Jamaicans have been settling. The Upper West Side also has a Haitian enclave [Appendix Table 18].

As with Jamaicans, there are more women than men among Haitians (53.5% of recent arrivals). The college-age cohort accounts for over 10%, the eight to 14 year-old cohort for 7%. At 44%, they also have a high number of single parent households [Appendix Table 13].

Though they come from the poorest island in the Caribbean and do not speak English as their native tongue, Haitian immigrants to New York City have a relatively high rate of college education (12.7% for those 25 or older) that approaches that of native-born Blacks. Only 23.6% of Haitians who immigrated in the last decade say they have difficulty speaking English. Moreover a higher proportion of Haitians between the ages of three and 25 are enrolled in school (74%) than for any other Caribbean or Latino immigrant group [Appendix Table 14].

Both women and men have a high rate of participation in the labor force. Their poverty rates are average when compared to Caribbeans and South and Central Americans [Appendix

Table 15]. They are less likely than other Caribbean groups to be managers or professionals and more likely to be service workers [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. As a result, the proportion of pre-1980 arrivals with household incomes over $40,000 is lower (46.8%) than for other Caribbean groups [Appendix Table 15]. Like Jamaicans, Haitians are heavily concentrated in the personal services, social services, and health sectors of the economy. A very high percentage, 34%, of the women work in the health sector [Appendix Table 16]. Men are concentrated in the manufacturing sector (19.8%). Consequently, 40% work as operators, a figure unmatched by any other male immigrant group [Appendix Table 17]. Relatively few Haitians who have been here more than a decade (45%) have become citizens [Appendix Table 14].

Trinidadians and Tobagans. Trinidadians overlap spatially with the residence patterns of Jamaicans to an even greater degree than do Haitians. Trinidadians are also moving through East Flatbush towards Queens in an expansion of their zone of settlement, with Brooklyn currently accounting for 67.9% and Queens for 18.4% [Appendix Table 18]. One interesting departure from the Jamaican pattern, however, is the presence of Trinidadians in the Asian settlement zone of Queens. This is because a substantial proportion of Trinidadians are of Indian ancestry, as is true of the Guyanese.

Trinidadians, too, have a relatively high proportion of women in their population (57.3%; 53.4% of recent arrivals. As with other anglophone Caribbean households, many of their children remain on the island. Trinidadians have fewer elderly and tend to be younger than the other Caribbean groups. The college-age cohort is over 10% of the total. Eight to 14 year olds account for 5.5%, an average proportion compared to most groups. The percentage of single-parent households (45.8%) is the highest among the Caribbean groups [Appendix Table 13].

A high percentage of three to 25 year olds are not in school (41.4%). They have a lower rate of college education [Appendix Table 14], but their numbers of managers and professionals and labor-force participation are comparable [Appendix Tables 15, 16 and 17]. Like the Jamaicans and Guyanese, but unlike the Haitians, many work in finance, with health, hospitals, social services, and public services important industries for Trinidadians as well. Transport is another specialization. Earnings tend to be lower than for Jamaicans [Appendix Table 15]. Since Trinidad does not allow for dual citizenship, the naturalization rate of those here for a decade or more (37%) is low [Appendix Table 14].

2. Asian Immigrants

Prior to 1965, Asian immigrants were predominantly Cantonese-speaking Chinese. Although the Chinese have been in New York City since the nineteenth century, with the Hart-Cellar Act, Asian immigration increased dramatically. Moreover, the composition of the Asian immigration also diversified. China continues to be the largest sending country. However, the post-1965 immigrants come from increasingly diverse parts of China. Asian immigrants have also arrived from India, Korea, the Philippines, and Pakistan in descending order of magnitude.

Asian immigrants come primarily for economic opportunity. Both the poor and better-off immigrants typically wish to improve their economic situation. The poorest Asian immigrants are predominantly from the PRC (although recent immigrants from Cambodia and Laos are poorer). Highly educated Asians, for example, Indians, come because of the opportunities for a better standard of living and to develop professionally in a manner not possible in their country of birth. To a lesser degree, politics has also motivated their decision to emigrate. Tensions internal to China and Korea have also motivated emigration. Political refugees tend to be well-educated, while those who follow in the wake of political upheaval are less so.

In contrast to Caribbean immigrants, pre-1980 Asian immigrants were more likely to be male than female, though this has become more balanced over the last decade. The significant exception to this pattern was the recruitment of Filipino women nurses to address the severe shortage in that profession during the 1980s. Like other immigrant groups, recent Asian immigrants are usually in the prime working years, though there were relatively high numbers of elderly Chinese and Filipino immigrants in the last decade, reflecting the departure of entire families.

Other social differences among Asian immigrants are dramatic. Those who come from the PRC are among the poorest, have the least formal education and the poorest English language facility, and tend to be laborers. On the other hand, they have high rates of married-couple families, many workers in the family, and high rates of labor-force participation. At the other extreme, Indians are more likely to have college degrees than native-born White Americans and do much better economically than other Asians (though less well than Whites with similar education in similar occupations). As a whole, Asians tend to be the most well educated and affluent of all of the immigrant groups entering New York City.

Chinese (People's Republic of China). The Chinese were the first, and remain the predominant Asian immigrants in New York City, numbering 115,976 [Appendix Table 13]. With the post-1965 immigration wave, the People's Republic of China became the third largest sending country, after the Dominican Republic and Jamaica.

Like the Koreans and the Taiwanese, virtually equal numbers of Chinese men and women now immigrate to New York. This is in striking contrast to the pre-1965 Chinese immigration to the City, a virtually exclusively "bachelor" group.[11] Because the Chinese are the third largest group, the numbers of eight to 15 year olds and 18 to 24 year olds are also high, 4,532 and 9,259, respectively. However, other, smaller groups contribute a relatively larger proportion of their population to the eight to 14 year-old group (the Haitians, those from the former USSR, Colombians, Ecuadorans) as do certain larger groups (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Jamaicans). In contrast to those who come from the Caribbean and other groups, the Chinese population is older.[12] Asians typically have lower percentages of single-parent households, and among the Asians the rate for the Chinese is the lowest (11.7%) [Appendix Table 13].

The language ability and educational attainment of the Chinese does not compare well with those of the other Asian groups. Chinese have more difficulty with English than any other Asian group featured in this report. Some 59% said they did not speak English well. This may in part explain their low educational attainment, which is also in striking contrast to the other Asian groups. Both those arriving before 1980 (14.7%) and those arriving after 1980 (17.5%) have college graduation rates nearly 20% lower than the average for all Asian immigrants. About 23% of Chinese from ages three to 25 were not attending school, which is about average for the Asian groups profiled here and better than for all the non-Asian groups. While the citizenship rate of the Chinese arriving before 1980 (72.9%) is slightly lower than those from Hong Kong and Taiwan, it is considerably higher than those of Indians and Koreans as well as the citizenship rate of all Caribbean immigrant groups [Appendix Table 14].

The Chinese are poorer than other Asians and the Caribbeans, with 25% of recent arrivals at or below the poverty threshold; of those who arrived before 1980, however, the figure falls to 14.5%. Moreover, only those from Hong Kong and the Guyanese have as many families with three or more working; this means that despite more Chinese family members working, they achieve lower incomes than other Asians as well as Caribbeans. Stated in statistical terms, 35.8% of

Chinese families have three or more workers. The percentages of men and women who are not in the labor force are similar to the average for Asians, 23.8% and 38.1% [Appendix Table 15].

More than any other immigrant group, Chinese women are concentrated in the manufacturing sector (55.9%), particularly in the garment industry, which explains their high concentration in the occupation of "operators," 50.8% [Appendix Table 16]. Chinese men are more concentrated in the retail sector (47.3%) than any other group and are somewhat concentrated in the manufacturing sector (17%). Relative to other Asian groups, Chinese men are more likely to be operatives and significantly less likely to be managers and professionals. However, Chinese men have been more successful at reaching the ranks of managers and professionals than have Caribbeans and Spanish-speaking immigrants [Appendix Table 17].

Chinese New Yorkers' residences are distributed evenly among the boroughs of Manhattan (32.9%), Brooklyn (32.2%), and Queens (30.6%). The largest concentration of Chinese residents is in Chinatown, north and east of City Hall in lower Manhattan. Other Chinatowns have developed in the Elmhurst and Flushing sections of Queens and around Eighth Avenue and 50th Street in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Poorer Chinese are concentrated in Chinatown in Manhattan, while those with somewhat higher incomes tend to live in Queens or Brooklyn [Appendix Table 18].

Class cleavages are quite clear among the immigrant Chinese. The "Downtown Chinese" tend to be working class with poor knowledge of English and are isolated from English-speaking New York.[13] The "Uptown Chinese" are typically highly educated professionals who play leading roles in the enclave economy and have far more business contact with non-Chinese New York. This latter group includes a higher proportion of Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants than from the Mainland. One study further classifies the Queens Chinese community into four strata: working class, professional middle class, small business class, and a wealthier entrepreneurial or "capitalist" class.[14] In short, today's Chinese community in New York is far more heterogeneous than the bachelor, working class of the turn of the century. The emergence of a middle class is perhaps the most significant change. Much of the Chinese middle class, however, does not represent the social mobility of earlier immigrants, but rather the middle-class origins of the first wave of immigrants after the 1949 revolution who, like most political refugees, brought their education, training, and entrepreneurial experience with them. The post-1965 immigrants are a

much larger and socially more diverse group, many coming from peasant backgrounds in the rapidly industrializing parts of South China, such as Fujien province.

Koreans. Though half the size of the Chinese population, the Koreans are the second largest Asian immigrant group (57,555 Appendix Table 13). Virtually all Korean immigrants arrived in New York after 1965, driven by similar home-country push factors and pulled by similar perceived and real opportunities in the US. Indeed, 70% arrived after 1980. Despite Korea's rapid economic development and success over the last three decades, Koreans experience many typical "third world" pressures. Korea is the third most densely populated country in the world. Rapid industrialization and urbanization have resulted in pollution, overcrowding, and intense competition for employment and educational opportunities.[15] Expectations for living standards have risen, especially for the middle class, as contact with American culture has increased.

Prior to 1976, Korean emigration laws had prevented professionals from leaving the country and restricted to $1,000 the amount of money those leaving could take with them. The passage of the Korean Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments opened the way for more professionals to leave and allowed them to take with them considerably more capital, enough to establish businesses in the US upon their arrival. Most come from Korea's largest cities, Seoul, Pusan, and Taegu, and unlike their counterparts in the home country, Korean immigrants to the US are more likely to be Christian and Protestant.

New York has the second largest concentration of Korean immigrants in the US after Los Angeles. Like the Chinese, the gender balance is virtually even (49.5% female, Appendix Table 13). Koreans contribute more eight to 14 year olds to the City's population than the other groups, excepting the Chinese, though the number of Korean eight to 14 year olds is a much higher proportion of the total group than is the Chinese eight to 14 year-old age group. The school attendance rates for school-age and college-age Koreans is stronger than most groups (23% not in school, Appendix Table 14).

About 16% of Korean families have single parents, which is average for Asians [Appendix Table 13]. Many Koreans arrive in the US as nuclear families with young children; however, it is not unusual for one parent to establish a base with the others arriving later. Koreans have taken advantage of the family reunification provisions of the Hart-Cellar legislation by also sponsoring their extended families.

Like the Chinese and Dominicans, the Koreans have trouble speaking English. Language and lack of credentials from the US deter middle-class Koreans from achieving the same white collar, professional status in the US which many enjoyed in Korea. Koreans become professionals in the medical and engineering fields, with women nurses accounting for a large proportion of Korean professionals (one-third in 1974).[16] Nonetheless, small business is their economic base in New York. In 1985, the Korean Produce Retailers Association estimated there were 9,000 Korean businesses in New York. For that same year it was estimated that 41% of Korean families in New York were running small businesses. Moreover, business owners typically recruit newly arrived Korean workers, which raises even higher the percentage of Koreans earning their livelihood by means of Korean small businesses.[17] By 1989, it was estimated that 70% of Koreans worked in small businesses, operating 1,400 out of a total of 1,500 vegetable stands, 2,000 out of 3,000 dry cleaners, half of all fish stores and garment factories, and a total of 1,500 nail salons in the tri-state area.[18] One-quarter of all Koreans in the labor force report being self-employed, a far higher figure than for any other group. Only Taiwanese immigrants come close to this figure.

The educational attainment of the recent arrivals (26% with college degrees) is considerably poorer than that of the pre-1980 arrivals (45.8%), suggesting the typical broadening social spectrum of later arriving immigrants once the flow has been established. Though educational attainment of the later-arriving Koreans does not compare well to other Asian, European, and Middle East immigrants, it remains considerably higher than the attainment of the Caribbeans and South and Central Americans [Appendix Table 14].

Korean poverty rates (20.3% for recent arrivals and 11.4% for pre-1980 arrivals) are slightly higher than the Asian average, not as high as those of the Chinese, and about the same as those of the Caribbean groups. The household income patterns are similar, with 52.3% of pre-1980 arrivals earning more than $40,000. However, fewer Koreans within families are working compared to other groups, suggesting, for example, that their children are more likely to be able to devote themselves full-time to studying in contrast to families in groups which must commit more members to the labor force in order to achieve a given level of income. More Korean women are not in the labor force (45.2%) than the Asian average (39.6%) while the percentage of men not in the labor force (17.5%) is slightly lower than the Asian average (20.1%) and slightly

lower than the percentages for the Caribbean groups [Appendix Table 15].

Both Korean women and men are overwhelmingly concentrated in the retail sector, 37.7% and 41%, respectively [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. This corresponds with their high rates of self-employment and strong presence in small businesses.[19] However, occupationally, Korean women do considerably poorer than Korean men and than women of many other Asian or Caribbean groups (excepting Dominicans). 15.8% of Korean women are in the ranks of managers and professionals, and 10.6% are operators [Appendix Table 16]. Korean men are managers and professionals (21.2%) and operators (19.2%) as much as other Asian men (21.4% and 19.5%, respectively) and have achieved the ranks of managers and professionals significantly more so than have Caribbean men [Appendix Table 17].

Koreans are much less residentially isolated in the City than are, for example, Caribbeans and native-born Blacks. They tend to mingle with working-class Whites (typically second and third generation European immigrants) as well as Cubans and other Asians.[20] They are concentrated in Queens where over 70% of Koreans live. The rest reside in the other four boroughs in relatively equal numbers [Appendix Table 18]. Major neighborhoods of settlement include not only Flushing and Elmhurst but also Jackson Heights and Corona, all communities in the borough of Queens.

Indians. Indians are the third largest Asian immigrant group [Appendix Table 13]. The second best-educated and second highest-earning of all the non-European immigrant groups, Indians are also concentrated in the middle-class neighborhoods of Asian Queens where 64% of Indians live [Appendix Table 18]. Like the Koreans, they are also largely dispersed in the census tracts in which they live.

In contrast to immigrants from the Caribbeans and some of the other Asians, the female percentage of Indian immigrants is low (44.3%, Appendix Table 13). A number of factors account for this gender imbalance. Indian immigration is more highly selective. High educational attainment and occupational status as professionals ease the ability of Indian men's entry under the provisions of immigration law. This is in contrast to male immigrants from other regions. Cultural factors (gender relations in India) may well also play a role in explaining the gender imbalance. The percentage of elderly Indian immigrants is about the same as for all foreign born, but the number of children is relatively low and Indian women's birth rates are also low. The

eight to 14 year-old cohort numbered 2,887 and 18 to 24 year olds 4,845 which, proportional to the total number of Indians, is less than for most groups and similar to other highly educated groups [Appendix Tables 13 and 14].

Indians have a strong facility in English compared to immigrants from other countries in which English is not the first language. Three-quarters report speaking English well, in addition to another 11% who report speaking only English. A remarkable 51.3% of Indian immigrants have college degrees or more, and half of them have postgraduate training, a higher ratio than any other group in the population except Filipinos and native-born people of English or Russian ancestry [Appendix Table 14].

The percentage of Indian families with single parents is lower (12.1%) than other Asian groups (excepting Chinese) and therefore also lower than nearly all immigrant groups [Appendix Table 13]. Like the other Asian groups, Indians also tend to be in married-couple families, with many members of the family working. The combination of high labor-force participation rates and strong educational background put Indian immigrants in a strong economic position with the highest proportion of managers and professionals (24.5%), a ratio once again exceeded only by native-born White people of English (42.7%) or Russian (40.1%) ancestry. This figure rises significantly for the most recent arrivals, of whom only 28.4% of women and 32.3% of men are professionals and managers [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]; however, this drop in the ability of recent arrivals to penetrate immediately the ranks of the best professions is true for all highly educated groups, even among the groups which speak English well. Correspondingly few Indians are service workers or machine operatives.[21] Indians are concentrated in retail, hospitals, finance, education, and public administration. As might be expected, Indian household incomes are among the highest of any immigrant group, with only Filipinos having a higher percentage with household incomes over $40,000 [Appendix Table 15]. Despite high levels of achievement in other respects, however, only 50.6% of pre-1980 Indian immigrants have become naturalized citizens, a lower percentage than most other Asian groups [Appendix Table 14].

Filipinos. Filipino immigration to New York is explained in large part by a longstanding political relationship between the US and the Philippines, which has to some extent Americanized the Philippines and fostered the social networks necessary for facilitating immigration. Political upheaval after the fall of Marcos was a push factor in the 1980s. The recruitment of Filipino

nurses to fill the nurse shortage in New York through the 1980s and up to the present has also played a role.

As well-educated and relatively well-off immigrants, Filipinos, like Koreans and Indians, are not as residentially concentrated as most other immigrant groups. To the extent enclaves exist, however, they are in the middle-class neighborhood of Woodside, Queens, where they are often intermixed with Indians, Koreans, older Irish, and some better-off Puerto Ricans. Roosevelt Avenue in Queens between 64th and 69th Streets is the location of many Filipino small businesses. Of Filipinos, 52.7% live in Queens, 19.4% in Manhattan, and 14% in Brooklyn [Appendix Table 18].

Recent female Filipino immigrants outnumber males by approximately 25 percentage points (63% to 37%, Appendix Table 13). This disproportion is larger than for any other immigrant group, including the typical Caribbean pattern of female-led migration, and stands in contrast to the predominantly male pattern of immigration among other Asians. This imbalance is in large part explained by the recruitment of Filipino nurses to fill the shortage in New York's health services industry during the 1980s. The professional rank of these nurses also explains in part the relatively strong income of Filipinos. No other groups has as high a percentage with household incomes over $40,000, 73% [Appendix Table 15]. Filipino success is also facilitated by stronger English language competence than any other group from a non-English speaking country, the highest level of education of any ethnic group in New York City (69% of the last decade's immigrants have college degrees), and strong labor-force participation [Appendix Tables 14 and 15]. A high proportion (77%) of pre-1980 Filipino immigrants have become citizens [Appendix Table 14].

Immigrants from Hong Kong. Hong Kong-born immigrants are relatively few for two reasons. First, many people who arrive in the US from Hong Kong were actually born in the PRC and migrated first to the colony. Second, until the Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986, the annual US quota for Hong Kong immigrants was only 500. The 1990 census report that 28,768 Hong Kong-born immigrants live in New York City is almost certainly low because so many Hong Kong immigrants were actually born on the mainland. Nevertheless, the number is large enough to reach some general conclusions about Hong Kong Chinese as a distinct immigrant group.

A large out-migration from Hong Kong has been anticipated since the late 1970s, when it became clear that Hong Kong would eventually be returned to Chinese administration. Recently

US immigration law was adjusted to accommodate wealthy immigrants, presumably from Hong Kong, as potential investors. Yet today, with the 1997 change in administration fast approaching, a massive exodus of wealthy Hong Kong residents has yet to be seen. Instead, there has been a modest but steadily growing migration of young, mostly middle-class adults to New York. Thus, in terms of social class, Hong Kong immigrants tend to resemble those from Taiwan, even if they are tied linguistically to the generally poorer Cantonese speaking immigrants from the mainland.

In many respects, Hong Kong-born immigrants strongly resemble the patterns already described for the mainland Chinese. A few important differences stand out, however. It tends to be a female-led migration (54.4% of 1980s arrivals were female, with much higher proportions of school-aged children than mainland Chinese or other Asian groups. The eight to 14 year olds number 1,832, the 18 to 24 year olds 6,283 with the latter an especially high proportion [Appendix Table 13].

As a British colony where English is taught in the schools, Hong Kong immigrants have much higher English ability than other Asian groups (apart from the Indians and Filipinos). They have among the highest rates of school enrollment of any immigrant group (only the Taiwanese do better) and high rates of college attainment, 40.9% for pre-1980 arrivals, as opposed to only 14.7% for the mainland Chinese [Appendix Table 14]. Like their mainland counterparts, Hong Kong immigrants have high rates of labor-force participation, many family members working, and low rates of poverty relative to other Asian groups [Appendix Table 15]. Nonetheless, the figures for 1989 incomes reveal that 33% of the incomes were less than $15,000 per year.[22]

Compared to mainland Chinese, the men are more likely to work in transportation and utilities, finance, and the professional services and less likely to work in retail (especially the restaurant industry) [Appendix Table 17].[23] Women are much less likely than their counterparts to be in the garment factories and more likely to be in finance, the services, and health [Appendix Table 16]. Both men and women are far more likely to be managers and professionals [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. Finally, the rate of naturalization among pre-1980 Hong Kong immigrants (82%) is the highest of any non-European immigrant group [Appendix Table 14].

Hong Kong immigrants have not formed their own residential enclaves in New York. Many live in neighborhoods dominated by mainland and Taiwan Chinese, while others live in largely White areas. Most have avoided Chinatown. The largest residential concentration is in

Queens (36.5%), followed by Brooklyn (33%), where a Cantonese-speaking concentration has grown up in the Sunset Park section. Only 25.8% live in Manhattan [Appendix Table 18].

Taiwanese. As with Hong Kong, the political history of the Republic of China (Taiwan) makes the Census measures of Taiwanese somewhat ambiguous because it includes both those who are indigenous to the island and second and third generation political refugees from the 1949 revolution on the mainland. The Chinese community in New York also refers to those who come from Taiwan as "Taiwanese," regardless of whether they were originally born on the mainland or on the island of Taiwan.[24] Immigrants coming from Taiwan but born on the mainland may identify themselves as "Taiwanese" or "Chinese," depending on their own sense of cultural and political identity.

The first, small wave of Taiwanese immigrants to New York were political, economic, or military elites of the nationalist Kuomintang Government who sought political asylum; some were also students in US institutions at the time of the revolution who did not return.[25] These early arrivals initiated the "family chain" migration, which "snowballed" because of the dramatic changes in immigration law in 1965. Both the occupational preference clause (for professionals and technicians) and the family reunification provisions were used.[26]

According to one study, the principal push factor for the current Taiwanese immigration is the lack of political stability on the island and fear of eventual Communist takeover.[27] Despite Taiwan's success as one of the western Pacific's rapidly developing economies and the consequent rising standard of living, the country has lagged behind in its development of democracy. Oppositional political parties were allowed to form officially only after 1986. The native Taiwanese are dominated by former mainland Nationalists, creating a political tension present since the founding of the Republic of China (Taiwan) after the revolution.

The facilitating networks and the establishment of Chinatown as a commercial, ethnic enclave also explain New York's attraction to the Taiwanese. Unlike the poorer groups, many Taiwanese bring significant capital with them to New York. Elmhurst and Flushing, Queens are also the site of growing economic and residential enclaves which both mainlanders and Taiwanese began revitalizing in the 1970s. Now that these parts of the City are established as Chinese, they constitute their own draw for immigrants, independent of Manhattan's Chinatown. The Queens enclaves, however, are significantly more affluent than Chinatown and a growing,

working-class Chinese enclave in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Taiwanese immigrants are disproportionately represented in the more affluent Queens enclaves, especially Flushing. Three-quarters of Taiwanese reside in Queens while only 14% live in Manhattan [Appendix Table 18].

Only 2% of Taiwanese immigrants arrived in the City before 1965. About a third of the Taiwanese immigrated between 1965 and 1979, the rest arriving since 1980. Taiwanese are nearly equally split between males and females. The pre-1980 arrivals are older than the recent arrivals. The number of eight to 14 year olds and college-age Taiwanese is low compared to other immigrant groups (excepting Poles and Italians) [Appendix Table 13].

Taiwanese English language ability is somewhat below that of other Asian immigrants from societies which were British or American colonies; however, the most recent arrivals speak English much better than the Chinese and Koreans, with only 31.6% telling census takers that they did not speak English very well. As with recently-arriving Indians, Filipinos, and Hong Kong Chinese, the Taiwanese have high rates of college education (50%). Moreover, the children among recent Taiwanese immigrants have a substantially higher rate of school enrollment than any other immigrant group. Only 11.4% of the school-age children of recent arrivals are not in school [Appendix Table 14].

Labor-force participation rates follow a similar pattern to those of other Asian immigrant groups: a predominance of married-couple families, high labor-force participation rates among men and women, many workers in the family, and therefore relatively modest rates of poverty. The rate of high-income households is not as great among recent immigrants as might be warranted by high levels of education, but this rate jumps strongly for pre-1980 Taiwanese households, of which 73.3% have incomes over $40,000 [Appendix Table 15]. As with Hong Kong-born immigrants, Taiwanese immigrants have a more favorable distribution in the lattice of industries and occupations than do mainland Chinese, with strong representation in managerial, professional, and technical occupations [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. Reflecting this upward mobility, pre-1980 Taiwanese immigrants have relatively high rates of naturalization (73%) [Appendix Table 14]. In contrast to those from the People's Republic, they also appear to be taking a strong interest in local politics.[28]

3. Island-Born Puerto Ricans*

Island-born Puerto Ricans number 365,000, clearly the largest of the groups profiled in this report and 38% more than the Dominicans, the second largest group. Puerto Rican migrants thus supply a large proportion of the City's eight to 14 and 18 to 24 year-old cohorts [Appendix Table 13].

Although Puerto Rico has held Commonwealth status since 1952 and its inhabitants are citizens by birth, their distinctive culture and language makes them similar in many respects to immigrants from foreign countries. However, their citizen status explains why Puerto Rican migration to New York has a very different timing than that of other groups. Whereas foreign-born immigration surged after changes in the immigration laws in 1965, Puerto Rican migration to New York City peaked in the 1950s and had begun to slow by the late 1960s. By 1970, migrants from the island to New York were outnumbered by those who were leaving the City. In the 1980s, return migration from New York to Puerto Rico exceeded the number who were moving from the island and elsewhere into New York City. However, the Puerto Rican population continued to grow in the 1970s and 1980s (though at a slower rate), owing to the relatively high birth rates among the large proportion of Puerto Rican residents of New York who were in their child-bearing years.[29]

The motivation for the first major Puerto Rican migration in the 1950s was purely economic. While the first migrants worked as agricultural laborers on the East Coast, by the 1950s they were coming to New York. First areas of settlement were the Lower East Side and East Harlem in Manhattan, as well as Williamsburg in Brooklyn and the South Bronx. In an attempt to escape the ghettos of the Lower East Side and East Harlem, many left for Brooklyn and the Bronx, where 60% of the City's Puerto Ricans already lived by 1960.[30] By 1990, Brooklyn and the Bronx together accounted for 70% of the City's Puerto Ricans [Appendix Table 18].

In the 1950s, Puerto Ricans had labor-force participation rates equivalent to those of other groups in the City, but were concentrated in low-paying, skilled and semi-skilled occupations in the manufacturing sector. Consequently, their median income was only 63% of that of the rest of

* *We thank Dr. Joseph Salvo, Director of the New York City Department of Planning's Population Division for allowing us to consult their forthcoming report, "Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990," an analysis also based on the 1990 PUMS.*

the City. Moreover, they paid a heavy price for their concentration in the manufacturing sector as that sector's share of the City's economy declined significantly in the 1960s and 1970s. Their labor-force participation rates declined considerably in the 1970s and 1980s, especially for women, who had also concentrated in the manufacturing sector.[31]

Since 1970, Puerto Rican men and women have shifted to other sectors, converging somewhat with the general pattern for the City's entire population; however, in 1990 island-born Puerto Rican men were still concentrated in blue collar occupations, with particular representation in the services and their proportion increasing in transportation and utilities.[32] Women are increasing their presence among professionals and managers, which is dovetailing with their disproportionately strong presence in the public sector relative to the rest of the groups [Appendix Table 16].*

Despite this shift in the pattern of island-born Puerto Ricans' occupational and industrial presence, in comparison to the immigrants profiled in this report, Puerto Ricans vie with Dominicans as being the poorest in many socio-economic categories. Only Soviet men have a higher proportion of individuals aged 16-65 out of the labor force (34.7% for recent Puerto Rican arrivals, 40.5% for former Soviets). While employment rates of island-born Puerto Rican women improved in the 1980s, 63.8% of recent arrivals are out of the labor force, a higher proportion than for any other group profiled here [Appendix Table 15]. The proportion of recently-arriving Puerto Ricans living in single parent families (52.9%, Appendix Table 13) is exceeded only by Dominicans. The rate of difficulty with English is also high given the island's Commonwealth status (27.8% for recent arrivals, Appendix Table 14), and the poverty rates remain stubbornly high (33.8% for pre-1980 arrivals, 50.9% for recent arrivals, Appendix Table 15). Strikingly, 40% of all island-born Puerto Ricans live in families with no members reporting holding a job.[33] Though 33.7% of school-age Puerto Ricans are not in school, that figure is similar among Caribbeans and worse among Dominicans and South and Central Americans [Appendix Table 14]. Only 3.8% of recent arrivals and 7.7% of pre-1980 arrivals over age 25 report holding college degrees, by far the lowest rate for any of the groups studied [Appendix Table 14].

* *PUMS 1990. However, the Census data does not clarify whether the professions in which Puerto Ricans are gaining a presence are viable occupations for the future.* Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990 *(New York: Department of City Planning, 1993).*

4. Dominican Immigrants

Since 1965, the Dominican Republic has been the single largest national source of immigrants to New York City. The 1990 Census reported that 125,000 had arrived in the 1980s alone. After Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, New York has the largest urban concentration of Dominicans in the world, making them the City's second largest Latino group after the Puerto Ricans. They make the largest contribution of the profiled groups to the college-age cohort and the second largest to the eight to 14 year-old group [Appendix Table 13].

Pre-1960 immigration was virtually non-existent, though a very small, middle-class settlement developed in Corona, Queens which has since grown. The overthrow of the Trujillo regime in 1961 loosened Dominican controls on emigration, and then the Hart-Cellar Act made the first large flows of Dominicans to New York possible after 1965. The flow subsequently increased through the 1970s and 1980s.[34]

As with Puerto Rican migration, Dominican immigration continues to be driven predominantly by economic factors. Dominican industry has not been able to sustain an increasingly urban population. Moreover, middle-class status is difficult to sustain on the island; many immigrants thus hope to secure it by accumulating savings in New York and then returning home. Politics has also played a minor sending role as flows to New York surged in the election years of 1974 and 1978.[35]

As with most immigrants, Dominicans were typically urban before they arrived and, in comparison to their home country population, relatively middle class. Moreover, those who did originate in rural areas are typically more prosperous than the average rural Dominican.[36]

Many early-arriving Dominican immigrants settled in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where many continue to live; however, Washington Heights quickly emerged as, and continues to hold, the largest concentration of Dominicans in the City. Manhattan accounts for 41.6% of Dominicans; the Bronx, 27.3%; Brooklyn, 16.2%; and Queens 14.6% [Appendix Table 18]. Though Dominicans are more likely than Central and South Americans to reside near the larger, earlier-arriving Puerto Rican population, only along the Grand Concourse in the Bronx, and to a lesser degree in Williamsburg and Sunset Park, do significant numbers of Dominicans live intermingled with Puerto Ricans.[37]

Those arriving in the 1960s typically took menial jobs in factories and restaurants, jobs which continue to be filled by newly-arriving Dominicans, especially by the undocumented. With

low proportions of managers, professionals, and the self-employed, Dominicans have a low proportion of people earning more than $40,000 per year, though pre-1980 immigrants tend to do slightly better (27.2%, Appendix Table 15). Dominicans are concentrated in manufacturing, with women particularly concentrated in the apparel industry [Appendix Table 16].[38] Another concentration, especially for men (30.8%, Appendix Table 17), is in retail. Proprietorship of bodegas and supermarkets, predominantly in Washington Heights, may give some Dominicans a route to upward mobility.

A high proportion of Dominican women (45.4%) are not in the labor force, though the figure for men is average for Caribbeans [Appendix Table 15]. This may be explained partly by the relatively high concentration of Dominicans in the younger age brackets, which experience special difficulty in the City's labor markets. But Dominicans also have the lowest rate of college education of any immigrant group except for island-born Puerto Ricans [Appendix Table 16] and a low rate of school enrollment (40.7% not in school, Appendix Table 14). Language also persists as a barrier for Dominicans with 52.2% of recent arrivals having difficulty speaking English [Appendix Table 14].

Dominicans have a high rate of single-parent households (50.1%, Appendix Table 13) and they are vulnerable to high rates of poverty (35.6%, Appendix Table 15). Moreover, this poverty has persisted for both pre- and post-1980 immigrants despite the fact that many Dominican single parents are likely to work.[39]

Like the Caribbean groups and the City at large, the Dominican population has a majority of females (53%, Appendix Table 13). Though Dominican women have a higher birth rate than any other immigrant group, many Dominican children evidently remain in the home country. Like Puerto Ricans, Dominicans have high rates of female-headed households, poverty and dependence on public assistance. [Appendix Table 15].

5. Western European Immigrants

Residents of New York City who were born in Western Europe tend to be over 65 (30% of the total). This reflects the continued presence of pre-1924 immigrants as well as some migration that took place before and after World War II. The Western European residents who arrived after 1965 are predominantly middle class. Many are single individuals who do not intend to stay in New York but are on diplomatic or corporate assignment. Others come to attend

professional school, a small number to attend undergraduate colleges, and others to work in the professions in hopes of finding advancement in the job market in their home country. They live predominantly in Manhattan, and their numbers are insignificant when compared to the Caribbean, Asian, and Latin American immigrations. As a group, they have strong English facility, high rates of college education, good jobs, and high incomes. For some specific groups, however, particularly the Irish and Italians, immigration is driven, as it is for some Asian groups, by young men leaving home to seek better job opportunities than could be found at home.

Because they are not profiled as an individual group in this report, it is worth discussing the Irish as one exception to the rule of highly educated and professional, recently-arrived, Western European immigrants. Recent Irish immigrants are predominantly young, single, and male. Those arriving in the 1980s were 56% male, and 69% of this recent cohort are between the ages of 25 and 46. Few (6%) are under the age of 18, but 19% are between the ages of 19 and 24. Educational attainment for the pre-1965 groups is quite low, with only 7% graduating from college, in contrast to the better educated recent arrivals, 20% of whom have college degrees.[40] However, the small proportion of Irish-born New Yorkers with high school degrees, only 44%, suggests a low level of human capital. In terms of income and poverty, the earlier arrivals do not compare well with other Western European immigrants; however, the post-1965 arrivals appear to be doing better than those who came before them.

Irish males who arrived in the 1980s are highly concentrated in construction (43%). Recent arrivals are also likely to work in restaurants. Another 36% of recent male arrivals are skilled crafts workers. Approximately 16% work as managers or professionals, in contrast to 37.4% of all Western European males. More (18%) are operatives.[41]

Of the recently-arriving women, 33% are in personal services, which was a predominant occupation for Irish women in the nineteenth century. That it remains so contrasts dramatically with other Western European groups and indicates the low level of skills among female Irish immigrants compared to other Western Europeans of the same category. About 17% work as professionals and managers, a full 20 percentage points lower than the figure for other Western European female immigrants. Restaurant work accounts for another 13% of working female Irish immigrants.

Irish immigrants live predominantly in Queens (37%) and the Bronx (31%), with a smaller number in Brooklyn (14%). Recent immigrants tend to reside in the neighborhoods of

Irish immigrants with longer tenure in the City and with native-born of Irish ancestry. Among those neighborhoods are Gerritsen Beach near Sheepshead Bay in Brooklyn, the Rockaways, Woodlawn in the Bronx, and Woodside in Queens.

6. Italian Immigrants

The volume of Italian immigration since 1965 has not been significant. The 1990 Census reported only 7,413 Italian-born residents who had arrived since 1980 [Appendix Table 13]. As with other West European immigrants, many of the foreign-born Italians in New York City represent the trailing edge of the large immigration that took place before national quotas were introduced into immigration law in 1924. Thus Italian immigrants are predominantly elderly (34.3% are over 65). The aging of the previous cohorts of Italian immigrants, coupled with the low fertility rates of more recent arrivals, suggests that the growth rate of Italians will remain quite small. However, individuals of Italian ancestry continue to be the single largest ethnic group in New York City.[42] Italian immigrants settle primarily in Brooklyn (38%) and Queens (33.7%, Appendix Table 18).

The Italians who have arrived since 1980 have among the greatest gender imbalances of any group: only 40.2% are female. Italian immigrants contribute the least number of eight to 14 year olds (836) and, relative to their numbers, a small number of 18 to 24 year olds (4,273). There are few single parent households (9.8%) among the small cadre of recent arrivals [Appendix Table 13]. Recent Italian immigrants tend to be working-age males seeking economic opportunity in New York. A relatively large number (12%) live alone, although most are in married-couple families.

The overwhelming majority of recent arrivals speak English well, only 21.2% saying they did not speak English well, with a majority speaking exclusively English at home. Though at 23.7%, they have a comparatively high rate of college education, it is lower than for other West European immigrants; however, this is a great improvement over earlier-arriving Italians whose college graduation rates are only 5.9% [Appendix Table 14].

The labor-force participation rate of recently-arriving males is better than for most groups, excepting South and Central Americans and Poles (only 15.1% of working age males not in the labor force); however, the non-participation rate for females is among the highest (56.3%), correlating with the high number of married couples and suggesting 1950s-era, nuclear family

traditions. With 47.1% with income over $40,000, the recent arrivals compare well with other groups; however, the largely elderly pre-1980 arrivals with 42.9% above $40,000 do not do as well as the Caribbeans and Asians who arrived before 1980 [Appendix Table 15].

Recently-arriving men are particularly well represented in the construction industry (20.7%) and in managerial (31.1%) and crafts occupations, while recently-arriving women are in construction (8.1%), the services (33.3%) and retail (19.7%). Recently-arriving Italian women have entered the ranks of managers and professionals at a rate of 38.5%, higher than the rate for Italian men, and, with the exception of Israeli and Filipino women, the highest rate for all groups [Appendix Tables 16 and 17].

Though New Yorkers with Italian ancestry have clearly staked a claim in the City's electoral politics, at 70.1% the citizenship rates of immigrants arriving before 1980 lag behind the rates for Eastern and Central European immigrant groups [Appendix Table 14].

7. Eastern and Central European Immigrants

Most Eastern and Central European immigrants who arrived before 1965 are Jewish. They are older, many retired, and therefore out of the labor force. (48% of the Polish foreign born, for example, are over 65; this group is predominantly Jewish refugees who arrived before and after World War II.) Although their children are also migrating out of the City, the second generation constitutes a significant number in the middle-class sections of Queens and Brooklyn.

Much of the post-1965 immigration continued to be Jewish, particularly recent arrivals from the Soviet Union, though the number of non-Jewish Poles and, most recently, of non-Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, is growing. Eastern and Central European immigration is also diversifying as a small number of Jewish background arrive from Central Asia (Kazakstan and Uzbekistan, for example) and Trans-Caucasia (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), though many are also migrating to Israel. The flows from the Soviet Union seem to be continuing at a steady rate.

The future of immigration for people of all backgrounds is unpredictable given the political situation of this region of the world. Trans-Caucasia appears to be caught in permanent civil war, and the potential persists for civil war within and conflict between other former-Soviet states. Moreover, the role the US and New York City might play in the migration outcomes of

present and future refugees from the civil war in former Yugoslavia is yet unclear.

Recent immigrants do not arrive with the high level of human capital of Indians, Koreans, and other affluent Asian groups. However, they arrive from a broader range of the social spectrum in the sending country and with more skills than did their precursors.

Immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Since 1965, the majority of immigrants from the former Soviet Union has been Jewish, though the non-Jewish portion has been rising in recent years. Many left the former Soviet Union because living conditions for the middle class, particularly the Jewish middle class, were harsh relative to conditions in the US. In interviews with Orleck, many immigrants mentioned the USSR's restrictive quotas for Soviet Jews seeking higher education as another important motivating factor. When Soviet Jews demonstrated for and achieved expanded emigration rights in the 1960s, many were Zionists and their country of destination was Israel, particularly after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.[43]

With detente between the US and the Soviet Union in the mid-1970s, the US opened up. Consequently, Soviet immigration to the US and New York surged dramatically in the late 1970s. By 1980, the Soviet Jewish community in Brighton Beach alone numbered 20,000, accounting for over 50% of all Soviet immigrants to New York before 1980. With the chilling of US-Soviet relations during the Reagan administration, the Soviet government restricted Jewish emigration. With the break-up of the former Soviet Union, however, the flows started again and will likely continue. Soviet immigrants typically are urban and come from the Ukraine, Moscow and Leningrad, with recent arrivals from increasingly diversified areas from other former Soviet republics.[44]

Although some Soviet Jews settled in Washington Heights in Manhattan and Rego Park in Queens, Brighton Beach in Brooklyn became the much preferred choice. The settlement of Soviet immigrants in Brighton Beach, which began in 1976, has revitalized what had become an older, declining neighborhood. Today it is the largest Soviet emigre community in the world.[45] Thus, Brooklyn accounts for the residences of 59.7% of immigrants from the former USSR. Queens is the second borough of choice with 23.9% [Appendix Table 18].

Soviet immigrants have an unusually high public assistance rate,[46] which correlates with their high poverty rates, at 50.4% the second highest for all immigrants [Appendix Table 15]. A number of other variables correlate with the former Soviets' high public assistance rates. About

40% of recently-arriving males and 57% of recently-arriving women are not in the labor force [Appendix Table 15]. High public assistance rates of former Soviets are also explained by other factors. Their refugee status qualifies them immediately for social benefits. And, it may be noted, newly-arrived Jewish immigrants from the former USSR benefit from the well-organized, private sector, social service infra-structure of the New York Jewish community.

The individual income distribution of the Soviets is similar to Caribbean immigrants, with more Soviet immigrants achieving the upper-income brackets; however, the Soviets are concentrated in the lowest bracket for household income, which may be explained by their arriving typically as complete families (81% of recently-arrived Soviet households are "married couples," a high figure). Only 4.6% of recently-arrived Soviet households have three or more workers, a much lower figure than for all other groups except Israelis [Appendix Table 15]. However, this will likely change the longer their tenure is in New York, given that the figures for the pre-1980 cohort are more comparable to other groups.

The English language is a barrier for recent Soviet immigrants, though over time they have more success overcoming it than do most Spanish-speaking immigrants and the Chinese. Of the 1980 to 1990 cohort, 48% say they do not speak English well, while only 16% of the pre-1980 cohort say the same. 30% of Soviet school-age children are not in school [Appendix Table 14], which is average for the immigrant groups, comparable to those of the South Americans, but not as high as the best-off Asian groups (Hong Kong and Taiwan) and some of the anglophone and francophone Caribbeans (Jamaica and Haiti).

Recent Soviet immigrants are older than the average immigrant group, with only about 25% of the population between the ages of 6 and 24.[47] The eight to 14 year-old cohort accounts for 5% of the population and the 18 to 24 year olds for 6%. However, within the pre-1980 cohort a higher than average number fall into this age bracket, nearly 10%, with most falling within the 19 to 24 age bracket. Only the better off Asian groups tend to have more college-age children of those in the pre-1980 cohort [Appendix Table 13].

As with migration from the Caribbeans, the Soviet gender balance is tipped towards females. Of those arriving in the 1980s, 53% were female and 47% male. However, a greater number arrive as intact nuclear families (some with extended family members as well) which is made possible by their refugee status.

The high number of older, pre-1980 Soviet immigrants explains in part their high citizenship rates, 86.3%. The refugee status of both earlier and recent arrivals may also explain their readiness to cut political ties with their former country, whereas the Western Europeans are less inclined to do so [Appendix Table 14].

Polish Immigrants. Like West European groups, Polish immigrants to the City must be distinguished as two cohorts, those who arrived previous to 1965 and those who have arrived since. Among the former are many Jewish refugees from World War II and a small, elderly cadre which arrived with other Central and East Europeans during the City's largest immigration (1882-1924). Thus, 31% of the earlier cohort speak Yiddish.

The earlier-arriving cohort accounts for over 50% of Polish immigrants, 75% of whom are over 65 years of age. The older, pre-1965 Polish Jews originally settled in working-class, Jewish ghettos (the Lower East Side) and have since followed the pattern of Jewish, working-class settlement and migration from Brownsville to Brighton Beach. The pre-1965 Catholics are settled in non-Jewish, working-class neighborhoods of Brooklyn. Figures for income and educational attainment indicate that this earlier arriving cohort has experienced little social mobility relative to other groups.

The post-1965 immigrants are more diverse in their location on the socio-economic spectrum in the sending society and generally have stronger socio-economic profiles. They are predominantly Catholic, younger, and settle not in Jewish neighborhoods but in the working-class neighborhoods of the East Village, Manhattan (before its gentrification in the 1980s), and Greenpoint, Brooklyn. Immigration surged particularly between 1982 and 1989, 40% of whom claimed refugee status.[48] It was during this period that the Solidarity movement gathered in its opposition to Soviet control and repression.[49]

At 61,634, the total number of Polish foreign-born is comparable to the number of Ecuadorans and Colombians as well as the smaller Caribbean groups. As an older population, however, they contribute a much smaller number of eight to 14 year olds and 18 to 24 year olds. Like the Italians, the gender balance is biased towards males, with females accounting for only 43.5% of the recent arrivals. The percentage of single-parent households is high (20.5%) for European groups [Appendix Table 13].

A high percentage of recent arrivals do not speak English well (45.2%); however, this figure drops considerably for the earlier arrivals (20.8%). Compared to other Eastern and Central Europeans, a high percentage of school-age Poles are not in school (37.7%). The college graduate rates of recent arrivals (22.8%) are lower than all other Europeans and Asians. The rates for earlier arrivals are also low (13.1%) though slightly higher than the rate for Italians [Appendix Table 14].

Recently-arriving Poles are less likely to be in poverty than other Eastern and Central Europeans, Asians, and most Caribbean groups (18%). A very low percentage, 14.1, of recently arrived, working age men are not in the labor force. The low percentage of Polish women not in the labor force (31.6%) is bettered only by Caribbean women and Filipino women. Moreover, Poles get by with fewer members in the family in the labor force than do the latter two groups. However, Poles do not reach the ranks of the middle class in term of income. Only 36.9% of Polish households have income over $40,000, which is somewhat comparable to other Europeans [Appendix Table 15].

More recent, male Polish immigrants are highly concentrated in construction (33.1%) and manufacturing (14.6%). They are only slightly more likely to achieve the ranks of managers and professionals than Caribbean men (13%) and are concentrated occupationally in precision repair (40.2%). The recently-arrived, smaller, female population is heavily concentrated in the services (42.4%). Occupationally, they are concentrated in administration (21.5%) and service (26.5%) [Appendix Table 17].

Like immigrants from the USSR and other Eastern and Central European countries, and for similar reasons, Poles arriving before 1980 have very high citizenship rates (88.7%, Appendix Table 14).

8. Middle Eastern Immigrants

The Census "place of birth" variable does not make it easy to distinguish those of Jewish and Arab background from the Middle East. Though Israeli immigrants are predominantly Jewish, some for example, are members of the indigenous Arab population. Sephardic Jews originate not only from Israel but also from Morocco, Yemen, and Syria. However, most Sephardic Jews made Israel their destination over the US.

In addition, there has been a steady flow of Jewish immigrants born in Arab nations, though some of these may be counted by the Census as Israelis, since they often come via Israel and carry Israeli passports. It is probable that most of the recent immigrants from Syria are of Jewish background, as are a number of Moroccans, Yemenis and those born in Iraq. It is unlikely that there will be much further emigration of those of Jewish background from these countries, however, for the simple reason that, except in the case of Morocco, virtually the entire Jewish populations of these counties has now left. Far more so than in earlier times, Jewish immigrants from Arab countries tend to be socially separate from their Muslim and Christian countrymen. They have formed their own ethnic enclave in the Flatbush and Midwood sections of Brooklyn, where several large Sephardic Synagogues have been established and where a Syrian Jewish woman recently ran (unsuccessfully) for City Council.

Once they arrived in New York, Arab and Jewish immigrants clearly part ways, best evidenced by their distinctive settlement patterns. The Sephardic and European Jews from Israel have settled in Borough Park, Brooklyn as well as the middle-class, Jewish neighborhoods of Forest Hills and Kew Gardens in Queens. Arabs arriving previous to 1965 were primarily middle-class, Christian Lebanese and insignificant in number. A more diverse Arab population began arriving after 1965 and first settled along Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn. Though most Arabs no longer reside along Atlantic Avenue, many Arab restaurants and other small businesses have remained. Present day residential concentrations are in Sunset Park in Brooklyn, and dispersed throughout the lower middle-class, immigrant, and second-generation, European neighborhoods of Queens.

Israelis and Arabs arrive with more human capital than most of the new immigrant groups: most speak English, and the percentages of college graduates are high [Appendix Table 14].

Immigrants from Afghanistan began arriving as refugees from the civil war with the former Soviet Union. They do not share the language and educational advantages of Arabs and Israelis and seek other routes of survival and success. Afghani immigrants have developed an ethnic, small business niche, indicated by their ownership of the fast-growing number of fried chicken restaurants in Brooklyn.

Israelis. Of the groups profiled in this report, only Taiwan has sent fewer numbers than Israel (22,024). Slightly more than half of Israelis arrived before 1980. Relative to their total

number, Israelis contribute a high number of eight to 14 year olds and 14 to 24 year olds, 1,973 and 2,330, respectively [Appendix Table 13].

Israeli immigration in the 1980s has been motivated by a troubled Israeli economy. Cohen argues that economic conditions and economic aspirations are the principal push factors for emigration.[50] In 1984 alone inflation was 1000%, subsiding to an annual increase of 9.4% in the years since.[51] Since 1987, the arrival in Israel of over one million immigrants from the former Soviet Union has put much pressure on the social welfare system and the national economy. Moreover, conflict with Palestinians and the Arab world bears a considerable cost for families. All Israeli men must perform annual military service through most of their adult lives, which entails separation of fathers from their families for many weeks in the year as well as reduced family income, affecting small shop owners and workers with less secure employment more than professionals and others with secure employment.[52]

Many Israelis come to the US intending to return to Israel, but the vast majority appears to be staying in the US.[53] It remains to be seen whether the more recent influx of Israeli immigrants in the 1980s will stay as have those who came before 1980. The state of Israel allows dual citizenship, which Israelis have taken advantage of. The naturalization rate of 77.7% for pre-1980 arrivals is very high, though it is an ambiguous indicator of whether Israelis will stay or return, as citizenship does not close off the option of return.

Many Israeli immigrants claim ancestries other than Israel. Of these, European ancestry dominates, especially Poland and Russia.[54] Sephardic Jews may claim ancestry from Arab countries as well, particularly from Morocco, Yemen, and Syria. Israelis settle mostly in Brooklyn (52.8%), in Borough Park, and in Queens (22.9%), in Forest Hills and Kew Gardens [Appendix Table 18].

Most Israelis speak English (only 6.3% said they do not speak it well). School age children tend not to be in school (31.1%) at a rate similar to Eastern and Central Europeans, but at a higher rate than Asians. Like their Arab counterparts, Israelis are better educated than the Europeans, Caribbeans, and Latin Americans, but do not have as many college graduates as many Asian groups [Appendix Table 14]. Those earning higher degrees gravitate towards private colleges and universities.

While recently-arriving male immigrants significantly outnumber women (57% to 43%), family structure is otherwise nuclear and stable, as Israelis have the lowest percentage of single-parent families of recent immigrants (3.8%) [Appendix Table 13]. Fertility rates and the contrast between male and female labor-force participation rates further suggest nuclear family structures with couples having children and women staying home with the children. Labor force participation rates for recently-arriving men are weaker than those for other Middle East immigrants, Caribbeans, and Asians (24.7% not in the labor force), while women have one of the highest rates of non-participation (56.6%) [Appendix Table 15].

According to the 1990 PUMS, the three highest occupation categories are sales, professionals, and managers, further indicating Israelis' high status in the labor force relative to most other immigrant groups. Women in the labor force are especially well represented among managers and professionals (46.9% of recent arrivals), surpassing Israeli men by 15 percentage points and surpassed only by Indian women. Industrial sectors most prominently represented by Israeli men and women include the services and retail.

Immigrants from Arab Countries. Small number of immigrants from Arab lands—Muslim, Jewish and Christian—have been settling in New York since the turn of the century. By the 1960s several small residential concentrations had grown up. The most important of these were a Christian and Muslim Lebanese settlement in the Cobble Hill section of Brooklyn centered around the Atlantic Avenue commercial district and a Syrian Jewish enclave along Ocean Parkway in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn.[55] Since 1980, however, immigration from Arab countries has increased rapidly. The approximately 18,000 post-1980 immigrants from Arab countries now outnumber all of those who came in earlier decades (Appendix Table 13). Only 4.6% of all Arab immigrants are ages eight to 14. The 18 to 24 year olds contribute a larger percentage, 9.8% [Appendix Table 13].

Unlike their predecessors, the majority of the new immigrants are Muslim. Many are Palestinians, who in all likelihood make up the majority of recent immigrants from Jordan, Lebanon, and Kuwait as well those Israeli immigrants who report Arabic as their first language.[56] There is also a small but growing migration from Egypt and from Yemen. All three of these groups tend to settle in Brooklyn (41.3%), where a number of mosques, Arab social clubs, and political organizations have been established in recent years. Queens accounts for 34.5%,

Manhattan for 14.6% [Appendix Table 18]. There is also a sizable concentration of recent Arab immigrants in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Contemporary Arab immigration is predominantly male: 62% of the post 1980 immigrants to New York are men [Appendix Table 13]. This would seem to indicate immigration by young men seeking to make their fortunes, as well as by married men supporting families in the Middle East. Many of these men work in small grocery stores, as taxi drivers, and in restaurants. The labor-force participation rates of recently-arriving males are high (only 17.2% not in the labor force) while recently-arriving women have stayed out of the labor force at a rate of 61.7%. Poverty rates (22.2% for recent arrivals and 13.7% for pre-1980 arrivals) are lower than their Israeli counterparts and are comparable to those of Caribbeans. Their incomes tend to be modest: 22.6 % reported 1989 household incomes of less than $15,000, as opposed to 20.5% of pre-1980 immigrants [Appendix Table 15]. Self-employment is relatively high in both groups: 13.6% of the pre-1980 immigrants and 7.8% of the post-1980 immigrants were self-employed in 1989. Arabs are heavily concentrated in the retail sector, where 28.5% of recently-arrived women and 42.9% of recently-arrived men are employed. There are also a small number of professionals within the community [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. Whether or not the gender ratio becomes more equal during the next decade may be a good indicator of the degree to which this population is putting down roots in New York.

9. African Immigrants

The number of sub-Saharan Africans emigrating to New York City remains relatively small: the 27,500 Africans recorded by the 1990 census comprise a tiny fraction of the City's foreign-born population. Nevertheless, the growth of this group during the 1980s and an increasing amount of out-migration from several African nations indicates the potential of this group to become a significant contributor to New York's immigrant population during the next century.

There are at least three distinct sources of sub-Saharan African immigration. First, the largest group are economically-driven migrants from coastal West Africa—principally Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia. As these nations will all face substantial population pressure in the coming decades (and in the case of Liberia, a highly unstable political situation as well); this migrant stream can be expected to grow. Second, there is a considerable number of political refugees from East Africa, principally Ethiopia and Somalia, now in the United States and Canada. While

New York has not tended to be the primary destination of these groups, a growing number of them have settled here during the past decade. Finally, perhaps the most visible African group in the City are Wolof-speaking peddlers from Senegal. This group appears to be a classic example of what economist Michael Piore terms "birds of passage": temporary migrants who live as cheaply as possible in the US while earning as much money as possible before returning to home countries where they remain connected to family networks.[57] This is an overwhelmingly male, largely young-adult migration. Thus far they have had little institutional involvement in New York and, as evidenced by the PUMS data, seem to have evaded the Census enumerators as well. Whether a substantial number of these migrants will eventually put down permanent roots in New York remains to be seen.

Until recently, sub-Saharan African migration to the US has been dominated by well-educated professionals and young people, principally men, pursuing higher education. As a result the primary impact of African migrants on New York City institutions has been seen in graduate and professional schools. The migration is still male dominated, although less so than in the past: 62% of African immigrants in New York are men [Appendix Table 13]. Professionals still make up a significant portion of the migrants: 51% of pre-1980 arrivals and 32.5% of the most recent arrivals have college degrees [Appendix Table 14]. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the migration is broadening, with a growing number of lower middle- and working-class families settling in the City and the Northern New Jersey suburbs.

The African population remains relatively prosperous. Only 21.1% of recent arrivals and 11.4% of pre-1980 arrivals live below the poverty level [Appendix Table 15]. Of pre-1980 arrivals 46% report annual household incomes over $40,000 [Appendix Table 15]. Recently-arrived women are concentrated in the health sector at a percentage rate of 28.5 [Appendix Table 16]. The percentage of women professionals, 26.4%, is comparable to that of Asian women [Appendix Table 16]. Recently-arrived African men are somewhat concentrated in retail (14.8%) and services (27.8%) [Appendix Table 17]. Only Western European men are more successful than African men at achieving the ranks of managers and professionals [Appendix Table 17]. The census reports 8.7% as self-employed, although this figure may be low, given the apparent undercount of the largely undocumented temporary migrants.

Africans have not established their own neighborhoods in New York. They live

throughout the five boroughs [Appendix Table 18], primarily in African-American and Caribbean neighborhoods in Brooklyn. Many also live in Queens, particularly in LeFrak City. Despite their lack of a geographic center, they are a highly organized group and have formed a number of social clubs, fraternal groups, and cultural associations, usually operating along ethnic lines. However, this high degree of social organization has not translated into high naturalization rates for pre-1980 arrivals (41.2%, Appendix Table 14), suggesting the tendency of many Africans to return once they have acquired an education or sufficient capital, or the political situation at home has altered.

10. Immigrants from Mexico, South and Central America

South and Central Americans in New York come predominantly from Colombia and Ecuador. However, Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, El Salvador, Honduras, and increasingly Mexico, are also represented. The poorest of the South and Central American immigrants settle in poor African-American and Puerto Rican neighborhoods—for example, the Hondurans in East New York (Brooklyn) and East Tremont (Bronx); the El Salvadorans in Williamsburg (Brooklyn), Far Rockaway and Jamaica (Queens). Other, more middle-class immigrants are settling with other immigrants and descendants of White European immigrants, for example, the Peruvians and Colombians in Woodside, Elmhurst, and Jackson Heights (Queens).

There is considerable socio-economic diversity. The small cadre from Argentina, Paraguay, and Chile (as well as some others) are predominantly well-educated professionals and disperse themselves throughout the City's middle-class, White neighborhoods. Colombians, Ecuadorans, and some Central Americans might be called the City's "new blue collar class" because of their settlement patterns in Queens and socio-economic position above Dominicans and Puerto Ricans but below the native-born White population.

Mexicans. With four out of five Mexicans having arrived in the last decade, they represent the City's newest immigrants, and their potential for continued growth is considerable as the social networks that facilitate immigration take hold. They are at the bottom of the job ladder. They live in the relatively poor parts of New York City, such as Sunset Park, Bushwick, and the Lower East Side. However, they have not congregated in the poor Puerto Rican neighborhoods of the South Bronx. Only in Bushwick and Williamsburg do they live within a

larger, predominantly Puerto Rican area.[58]

Unlike the other groups, Mexicans are predominantly male (63.3%). Fewer Mexicans are elderly and more are young people than is true of any of the other immigrant groups; the children of Mexican families are more likely to be in New York. Except for the Chinese, they have the hardest time with English, with 56.1% having difficulty speaking the language. Mexicans also have a low rates of college education and school enrollment. Yet labor-force participation rates are among the highest, with heavy concentrations in service and factory assembly occupations. Mexicans are starting at the beginning of the classic immigrant trail, as the least well paid workers in the dirtiest jobs in the City's economy. Fully 21.6% work in the restaurant industry, while another 18.6% work in manufacturing. Given their recent arrival, low education, and low occupations, it is not surprising that Mexicans have the lowest proportion earning $25,000 (4.5%) and the lowest proportion of naturalization (14.4%).[59]

Colombians. The number of Colombians in the City (68,787) is significant and greater than most of the individual Asian groups and some of the Caribbean groups, though less than the Eastern and Central Europeans [Appendix Table 13]. The rate of their arrival increased during the 1980s. In contrast to the Puerto Rican concentration in the Bronx and the Dominican concentration in Washington Heights, Colombian immigrants have concentrated in Queens (73.5%, Appendix Table 18), primarily in Jackson Heights and Elmhurst. A small number have also settled in Northern Manhattan and Sunset Park. A new concentration is also developing in Hollis, Queens, to the north of the Caribbean and native-born Black sections of Southeast Queens.[60]

More Colombian immigrants are women than men (52% of recent arrivals) and fewer are children or the elderly. The eight to 14 year-old cohort is small (less than 5% of the total); however, the 18 to 24 year-old cohort is large relative to the total Colombian population, nearly 11% [Appendix Table 13]. Like Dominicans, Colombians have trouble with English, but somewhat less so (37.9%). While rates of college education and school enrollment are low compared to those of the Caribbean groups (9.2% and 41.4% of recent arrivals, respectively, Appendix Table 14), Colombian labor-force participation rates are comparable and are substantially better than for Dominicans or Puerto Ricans [Appendix Table 15]. Relatively few Colombians are professionals or managers (7.1% of recently-arrived women and 9.3% of the men, Appendix Tables 16 and 17), but the self-employment rate is the highest (7.0%) of the Latino or Caribbean immigrant groups.

Colombians have also done better than Dominicans in carving out economic niches in construction, manufacturing, restaurants, finance (6.0%) and especially personal services (16.6%) [Appendix Tables 16 and 17]. Nonetheless, while more Colombians earn higher household incomes than the other Latino groups, they still lag behind the Caribbean and Asian immigrant groups [Appendix Table 15]. At 41% for pre-1980 arrivals, their naturalization rates are low.

Ecuadorans. After Ecuador's two largest cities, Quito and Guayaquil, New York has the third largest concentration of Ecuadorans in the world. Since the late 1960s, poor economic conditions in Ecuador have driven an average of 2,700 Ecuadorans per year to New York City, though the rate of their arrival, in contrast to the Colombians, slowed in the 1980s [Appendix Table 13]. Like other South and Central Americans, they tend to have a low-profile presence, despite their numbers. According to the 1990 PUMS, nearly half live in Queens (45.9%), primarily in Corona, Jackson Heights, and Astoria.[61] Another 22.9% live in Brooklyn, 16.9% in Manhattan, 13.8% in the Bronx, and like other Spanish-speaking groups, virtually none (.5%) live in Staten Island [Appendix Table 18].

While in most other respects their profile is similar to the Colombians, the female to male ratio of Ecuadorans is more balanced, nearly one to one; however, the most recent arrivals are predominantly male (55.4%). The reason why Ecuadoran men are the pioneers among recent immigrants and why this pattern diverges from that of recently-arriving Colombians and other Spanish-speaking groups is not clear. The percentage of single-parent households, 34, is similar to that of the Colombians, higher than the figure for Europeans and Asians but lower than that for Caribbeans [Appendix Table 13].

The overwhelming majority of Ecuadorans speak Spanish, with a small number speaking indigenous languages. Less than 5% speak English in their homes. Almost half of all recent arrivals said they do not speak English well [Appendix Table 14], a figure similar to other South and Central Americans and lower than the figure for Dominicans. The percentage of school-age children not in school, 47.6%, is the highest for the individual groups profiled in this report. This does not bode well for the ability of Ecuadorans to acquire facility with English, suggesting they may have difficulty progressing beyond the blue collar, service, and low-paying retail jobs they tend to have. The percentage of college graduates (8.2%, Appendix Table 14) lends more weight to concerns about their ability to move into better paying jobs and industrial sectors which require

more education. Citizenship rates are the lowest of the groups profiled.

Labor-force participation among Ecuadorans is strong. Only 11.7% of working age men arriving in the 1980s were not in the labor force, the lowest figure of the groups profiled in this report. Only 39.5% of women were not in the labor force, also a relatively low figure. However, their poverty rates bear out the poor earnings position of Ecuadorans. Though poverty rates for recent arrivals are relatively low at 20.5%, this figure does not diminish as much for the earlier arriving Ecuadorans (16.4%) as the figure does for other comparable groups such as Caribbeans and the Chinese. Like the Chinese and Caribbeans, many Ecuadoran households have three or more workers (30.3%) in order to sustain the relatively low level of income they achieve. That only 37.9% of pre-1980 arrivals have income over $40,000 indicates that despite their hard work, they have not entered the ranks of the solidly middle class as well as Caribbeans, though in this regard they compare well to Eastern and Central Europeans [Appendix Table 15].

Excepting the Chinese, Ecuadoran women are more concentrated in the relatively low-paying industrial sector of manufacturing (39.8%), predominantly the garment industry, [62] and to some extent in retail (16.6%), where many work as street vendors [Appendix Table 16]. Thus, not surprisingly, a high percentage of women work in the occupation of operator (31.8%, Appendix Table 16). Men work more in retail (35.6%, Appendix Table 17), also often as street vendors. Men are also concentrated in the occupation of operator (30.9%, Appendix Table 17). Their concentration in manufacturing is higher than for any other group profiled (23%, Appendix Table 17). Like the women, they have had very little success achieving the ranks of managers and professionals [Appendix Tables 16 and 17] because of their poor command of English and low educational attainment.

NOTES

Introduction

[1] New York State Education Law, Section 6201.

[2] See Frank Levy and Richard J. Murnane, "US Earnings Levels and Earnings Inequality: A Review of Recent Trends and Proposed Explanations," Journal of Economic Literature 30:3 (September 1992)1333-1381; and Lawrence F. Katz, "Understanding Recent Changes in the Wage Structure," NBER Reporter (Winter 1992-93) 10-15.

[3] Socioeconomic Profiles: A Portrait of New York City's Community Districts from the 1980 and 1990 Census of Population and Housing (New York: Department of City Planning, 1993) 12.

[4] Price Waterhouse Survey Research Center, "New York Business Pulse: A Survey of the City's Competitive Edge Industries" (Washington, D.C., April 1993) 1-7.

[5] National Center for Education Statistics, Adult Literacy in America: A First Look at the Results of the National Adult Literacy Survey, press release (September 1993).

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[1] The Newest New Yorkers: An Analysis of Immigration into New York City During the 1980s (New York: Department of City Planning, 1992) 7.

[2] United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1991 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1992) Tables 4 and 34.

[3] Socioeconomic Profiles Table 2.

[4] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990 (New York: Department of City Planning, 1993) Table 2-2.

[5] Edwin Meléndez, "Los Que Se Van, Los Que Regresan: Puerto Rican Migration to and from the United States, 1982-88" (Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños Political Economy Working Paper Series ***1, 1993) Table 7.

[6] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990 Tables 9-1 and 9-2.

[7] See Irma L. Pérez-Johnson, "Political Status, Industrial Structure, and Migration," Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992; Luís M. Falcón, "Migration and Development: The Case of Puerto Rico," Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Working Paper No. 18, 1990; The City University of New York, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños History Task Force, Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979); Meléndez; and Francisco L. Rivera-Batíz, "Is There a Brain Drain of Puerto Ricans to the United States," Puerto Rico Business Review 12.6-7 (June-July 1987) 1-5.

[8] Pérez-Johnson 121.

[9] Pérez-Johnson 123.

[10] Meléndez; and Hector Cordero, "Socioeconomic and Demographic Determinants of Differences in the Wages of Puerto Rican, Latino, White, and Black Youths, 1959-1980," SSRC Conference on the Causes and Consequences of Puerto Rican Poverty, Hunter College, October 1992.

[11] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990 Table 4.5.

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Part II

[1] The City University of New York, Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force (New York: CUNY, Spring 1994) 13.

[2] Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force 14.

[3] See US Department of Education, Office of Education Research and Improvement Research Report OR94-3215 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, July 1994).

[4] Report of the CUNY ESL Task Force 24.

Part III

[1] Patricia Y. Anderson, "Migration and Development in Jamaica," in Robert Pastor, ed., Migration and Development in the Caribbean: The Unexplored Connection (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1985) 117-39.

[2] Philip Kasinitz, Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992).

[3] Kasinitz 27.

[4] Kasinitz 28.

[5] Kasinitz 27-29.

[6] Nancy Foner, ed., New Immigrants in New York (New York: Columbia UP, 1987) 197; and George Beckford, Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World (London: Oxford UP, 1972).

[7] Ellen Percy Kraly, "US Immigration Policy and the Immigrant Populations of New York," in Foner Tables 2.3 and 2.10.

[8] R.W. Palmer, "A Decade of West Indian Migration to the United States, 1962-1972: An Economic Analysis," Social and Economic Studies 23 (1974) 576.

[9] "New York's New World," Special Reprint, New York Daily News.

[10] Susan Buchanan Stafford, "The Haitians: The Cultural Meaning of Race and Ethnicity," in Foner 134; and Renald Clerisme, "Dependency and Migration, A Case Study: Bassin-Bleuans in Brooklyn," (Master's thesis, New York U, 1975).

[11] Min Zhou and John Logan, "Returns on Human Capital in Ethnic Enclaves: New York City's Chinatown," American Sociological Review 54:5 (October 1989) 809-820.

[12] PUMS 1990.

[13] Peter Kwong, The New Chinatown (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987).

[14] Hsiang-Shui Chen, Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1992).

[15] Ilsoo Kim, "The Koreans: Small Business in an Urban Frontier," in Foner 221.

[16] Kyeyoung Park, "The Korean American Dream: Ideology and Small Business in Queens, New York" (Diss. City University of New York, 1990) 8.

[17] Kim 226.

[18] Park 79.

[19] Kim.

[20] Kim.

[21] PUMS 1990.

[22] PUMS 1990.

[23] PUMS 1990.

[24] Chen 27.

[25] Chen; Kwong; Thomas Sowell, Ethnic America: A History (New York: Basic Books, 1981); and Min Zhou, Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1992).

[26] Leon F. Bouvier and Robert W. Gardner, "Immigration to the US: The Unfinished Story," Population Bulletin 41:4 (November 1986) 15; Chen; and Bernard Wong, "The Chinese: New Immigrants in New York's Chinatown," in Foner 87.

[27] Zhou 74.

[28] "New York's New World," Special Reprint.

[29] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990.

[30] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990.

[31] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990.

[32] PUMS 1990.

[33] Puerto Rican New Yorkers in 1990.

[34] Patricia R. Pessar, "The Dominicans: Women in the Household and the Garment Industry," in Foner 103-130.

[35] James Ferguson, Dominican Republic: Beyond the Lighthouse (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1992); and Pessar 105.

[36] David Bray, "Economic Development: The Middle Class and International Migration in the Dominican Republic," International Migration Review 18:2 (1984) 217-236; Eugenia Georges, The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic (New York: Columbia UP, 1992); and Pessar.

[37] John H. Mollenkopf, New York City in the 1980s: A Social, Economic, and Political Atlas (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993) Maps 17-19.

[38] Pessar.

[39] PUMS 1990.

[40] PUMS 1990.

[41] PUMS 1990.

[42] Mollenkopf 8.

[43] Annelise Orleck, "The Soviet Jews: Life in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn," in Foner 273-302.

[44] Orleck.

[45] Orleck 279.

[46] PUMS 1990.

[47] PUMS 1990.

[48] The Newest New Yorkers.

[49] Rachel Toor, Polish Americans (New York: Chelsea House, 1988) 37.

[50] Yinon Cohen, "War and Social Integration: The Effects of the Israeli-Arab Conflict on Jewish Emigration from Israel," American Sociological Review 53:6 (December 1988) 908-918.

[51] Bernard Avishai, "Israel's Future: Brain Power, High Tech and Peace," Harvard Business Review 69:6 (November 1991) 54.

[52] Zvi Sobel, Migrants from the Promised Land (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1986) 104.

[53] Sobel.

[54] PUMS 1990.

[55] Zelda Stern, The Complete Guide to Ethnic New York (New York: St. Martins Press, 1980).

[56] PUMS 1990.

[57] Michael Piore, Birds of Passage (New York: Cambridge UP, 1979).

[58] Maria Valdes Luz and Robert Smith, "Mexican Migration to the New York City Metropolitan Area: Analysis of Selected Socio-Demographic Traits and the Links Being Formed Between a Mexican Sending Region and New York," Final Report to the Tinker Foundation (New York City, 1994).

[59] PUMS 1990.

[60] Mollenkopf 1993, Map 20.

[61] Mollenkopf 1993.

[62] Pessar 108.

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APPENDIX I

CUNY DATA

Much of the CUNY data presented in this report was collected and/or provided by the Office of Institutional Research and Analysis. They were collected at different time periods to support longitudinal studies such as this. However, the data for 1980, 1990, and 1992 are not completely comparable. They vary with respect to both research design and the sets of questions used.

The design used for 1980 and 1990 involved survey questionnaires mailed to all freshmen applicants at CUNY. Only those who responded to the survey and eventually enrolled at CUNY as first-time freshmen during Fall 1980 and Fall 1990 were included in the analyses. In other words, only a fraction of the total Fall 1980 and Fall 1990 first-time freshmen classes were included in the study. The design for 1992, on the other hand, involved the whole Fall 1992 first-time freshmen class. Data were obtained from the application form which freshmen students had to fill out before enrolling at CUNY. A more detailed description of the research designs for each year appears in the next section.

The sets of questions used in 1980, 1990, and 1992 also varied. There were questions that were not included for all of the three years, questions for which the wording varied in the three years, and questions for which the set of responses varied from year to year. For example, the information about students' country of birth and immigrant status was available for 1990 and 1992, but not for 1980. A second example concerns the item 'country-of-identity'. The question posed for all three years was: "From what country or part of the world did you or your family originally come?" The 1990 and 1992 forms however, appended a sentence asking the student to choose the country which they identify with most, thereby slightly altering the respondent's interpretation of the question. In addition, the choices provided for this particular question varied from year to year. The 1980 questionnaire provided a list of 15 specific countries (as well as "other"); the 1990 questionnaire, 28; and the 1992 questionnaire, 27. Only 15 of the countries appeared consistently across the three years. Further, USA was not listed as an option. A more detailed discussion of the items that are not completely comparable across the three years is presented below.

A. Research Design Used for 1980, 1990 and 1992

DATA FOR 1980

In Summer 1980, the Office of Institutional Research and Analysis mailed a survey questionnaire to all 52,366 students who had applied to CUNY as first-time freshmen for Fall 1980. The survey requested a wide range of information about students' background, financial resources, employment situation, educational attitudes, and aspirations. The number of respondents to the survey questionnaire was 15,727. Of these, 11,625 subsequently enrolled in CUNY during Fall 1980. This sample represents about 36% of the total 1980 freshmen class of 31,890.

Other types of data were combined with these survey data. They include: (a) high school transcript records, collected by the University's centralized admissions office; (b) scores on the CUNY skills assessment tests; and (c) registration data, collected by individual CUNY colleges. These data were transmitted to Institutional Research, and were combined with the data from the survey so that the record of each enrollee who responded to the survey also contained information about the student's high school background and his or her registration at CUNY.

Research done by the CUNY Office of Institutional Research has suggested that the sample of 11,625 students is fairly representative of the 1980 first-time freshmen population, even though it is a self-selected sample. A comparative analysis showed that while the sample contained a greater proportion of women and better prepared students among regular-admissions students in the senior colleges, the sample/population differences were small. With regards to academic performance, age, and year of high school graduation, the sample/population distributions correspond closely. The Office of Institutional Research concluded that it would not be misleading to generalize from the sample the total 1980 first-time freshmen class.

One should note that while the 1980 survey was the main source of 1980 student data used in this report, other sources of data (e.g. various issues of the CUNY Databook) were consulted. In cases in which a specific piece of information was available from both the 1980 survey and the 1980 Databook, statistics from the Databook were used because the Databook contain information for the whole freshmen population, whereas the survey contains information for only a fraction of the freshmen population.

DATA FOR 1990

The 1990 survey data were gathered by the Office of Institutional Research by means of three separate survey instruments: a Base Survey of Applicants; a Survey of Late and Direct Admits; and a Follow-up Survey. The first two surveys are alike and were mailed to all 48,807 applicants for admissions during Fall 1990. Of this group, 11,861 responded to the surveys, and 8,332 ultimately enrolled as first-time freshmen at CUNY during the Fall 1990. The third survey, the Follow-up Survey, was sent out during Spring 1991 to the 8,332 CUNY first-time freshmen who responded to the original surveys. Of this group, only 4,692 mailed back their response to the Follow-up Survey.

Combined with the 1990 survey data were other CUNY data with information about high school background, performance on basic skills tests, registration, and CUNY performance through Spring 1992. These latter data were available for all 26,996 first-time freshmen who enrolled in Fall, 1990, whereas the survey data described above are available for only 8,332 of the Fall 1990 first-time freshmen.

A preliminary assessment conducted by the Office of Institutional Research showed slight differences in sample-population distributions for Fall, 1990 first-time freshmen. Women were slightly over-represented in the sample, while US citizens were slightly under-represented. A serious bias, however, was present with respect to persistence. According to the Office of Institutional Research, persisters were over-represented among survey respondents.

DATA FOR 1992

The data used for 1992 were obtained for all Fall 1992 first-time freshmen at CUNY. They were extracted from the application form for freshmen admissions. The 1992 admissions form requested information on the students' ancestry, place of birth, native language, citizenship status, and parent's country of birth. This was the first time such information was requested in the application form. For each student, data from the application forms were merged with the student's high school record, his or her performance on basic skills tests, and registration information.

B. Discussion of Selected Questionnaire Items

This section discusses in detail two questionnaire items that are the most relevant for this study: country of birth and country of identity.

Country of Birth

Country of birth information is analyzed for 1990 and 1992 only, as there is no information about birth location for 1980. For purpose of the analyses in this report, students are categorized as either born in the US or born outside of the US. Students born in Puerto Rico and other US territories are included with the non-US-born for much of the analyses in the report because of the linguistic and cultural difference between these areas and the rest of the US.

When making comparisons between the two groups, US-born and non-US-born, one must keep in mind that the non-US-born group is highly heterogeneous. Students in this group differ with respect to the length of time they have been in the US, their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and their legal status. With regard to the latter, they may be naturalized citizens, they may be resident aliens, they may have student visas, they may have another type of temporary visa (e.g. family members of foreign worker or diplomats), or they may be undocumented. Therefore, there are likely to be large differences in background and performance among students in the "non-US-born" category. (For example, foreign students are required to take the TOEFL test to gain admittance to CUNY and may have better mastery of the English language than do students who are recent immigrants.)

Country of Identity

The question "From what country or part of the world did you or your family originally come?" was included in the questionnaires for all three years we study, 1980, 1990, and 1992. Nevertheless, the responses to the questions are not completely comparable across the three years. In 1990 and 1992, a sentence was added that requesting that the student choose the country "with which you most identify." In addition, in 1990, but not in 1992, a student was allowed to choose two countries rather than one. About a third of students did not answer this question, perhaps because they were of mixed parentage or they identified with the US rather than any other country. In 1990, when students were given the option of choosing two countries with which they identify rather than one, the response rate was higher than in the other two years. The list of countries from which students could choose in answering this question also varied from year to

year. The 1980 questionnaire listed 15 specific countries, four country groups (such as "other Asia") and "other"; the 1990 questionnaire listed 28 specific countries, 7 country groups, and "other"; and the 1992 questionnaire listed 27 specific countries, 1 country group, and "other." Fifteen countries are named in all three years. These countries are: China, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, United Kingdom, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Poland and Russia. (The United Kingdom which consists of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland was counted as one country.) Note that USA was never listed as an option in any of those years.

It is also possible that some of the countries that were consistently listed for 1980, 1990 and 1992 are not entirely comparable. For example, China for 1980 and 1990 might have been interpreted to include the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, whereas in 1992, these three options are listed separately.

Similarly, some of the country groups may not be completely comparable across the years. For example, a student from a North African country may place him/herself in the "African" category or the "Middle East" category.

Finally, as mentioned above, a significant proportion of students does not respond to this question. This may be a result of the complexity of determining one's origin and identity. In a diverse city like New York, where marriages across ethnic lines are common, an individual born of such a marriage would have trouble choosing a country. This is especially true for students born in the US, and may even be a factor for foreign-born students who have spent most of their lives in the US. In addition, students for whom two or more generations of parents had been born in the US may have wished to choose "US" as a response, and not finding the US listed among the countries, chose not to answer the question.

C. Country-of-Origin Groups for CUNY First-time Freshmen, 1992

(reference for Table 10)

In processing the Fall 1992 CUNY application form, the Office of Institutional Research coded all of the individual countries named by students who responded "other." Therefore, in defining the country-of-origin groups used in Table 10, students from all of the countries in each area are included. In contrast, in Tables 3, 4 and 5, which used data for 1980, 1990 and 1992, these country-of-origin groups could not include students whose answer was "other." Consequently, in Tables 3, 4 and 5, a more restricted list of countries is used for some of the country-of-origin groups (as compared to Table 10).

The following is a summary of the country-of-origin groups used in Table 10.

Africa

Asia
- China
- Hong Kong
- India
- Philippines
- South Korea
- Other Asian

Middle East
- Israel
- Other Middle East

Eastern Europe
- Poland
- Soviet Union
- Other Eastern Europe

Italy

Western Europe
- Germany
- Greece
- Ireland
- Other Western Europe

Dominican Republic

Puerto Rico

Caribbean
- Guyana
- Haiti
- Jamaica
- Trinidad and Tobago
- Other Caribbean

Mexico/South & Central America
- Mexico
- Ecuador
- Colombia
- Other South America
- Other Central America

Australia, New Zealand, Canada

APPENDIX II

Panel Participants (arranged by date)

Between June 2, 1993, and June 29, 1994. University staff met in a series of roundtable discussions with community and business leaders, government officials, scholars, educators and students representing the nine major country of origin groups studied in this report. Following is a complete list of the participants.

Asian American Panel - June 2, 1993

Mr. George Chin, University Director, Office of Student Financial Assistance, CUNY
Ms. Margaret Chin, Coordinator, Chinatown Extension Program, LaGuardia Community College
Ms. Dorothy Chin Brandt, Judge, Civil Court of the City of New York
Mr. Muzaffar Christi, Immigration Project, International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Mr. Cambao De Duong, Chairman, Vietnamese-American Community
Mr. Jae Kim, Office of Public Administration, John Jay College
Ms. Nancy Lay, National Representative ESL, Reading and Remedial Education, City College
Ms. Midori Lederer, President, Japanese American Social Services
The Honorable Thomas Tam, Trustee, CUNY
Dr. John Kuo Wei Tchen, Chair, Asian American Center, Queens College
Dr. Julia To Dutka, Dean, School of Education, Baruch College
Ms. Kyoko Toyama, Counselor, LaGuardia Community College
Ms. Florence Tse, Enrollment Manager & Director, Asian American Affairs, Queensborough CC
Mr. Charles Wong, President, Chinese Institute in America

Caribbean Panel-June 16, 1993

Dr. Marcia Bayne-Smith, Department of Health and Physical Education, Queens College
Dr. Courtney N. Blackman, International Business Consultant
Prof. Doreen June Bobb, SEEK Program, Queens College
Prof. Jacqueline Braveboy-Wagner, Department of Political Science, City College
Mr. Wrickford Dalgetty, Esq.
Dr. Monica Gordon, Department of Women's Studies, Hunter College
Dr. Eda F. Hastick, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Medgar Evers College
His Excellency Lionel Hurst, Ambassador & Permanent Representative, Antigua & Barbuda
Dr. George Irish, Director of Caribbean Research Center, Medgar Evers College
Dr. Carol Berotte Joseph, Department of Bilingual Education, City College
Dr. Sharon McNicol, Psychologist
Mr. Sean Sukal, Student, Hunter College
Dr. Basil Wilson, Provost, John Jay College

Dominican Panel-September 21, 1993

Mr. Luís Álvarez-López, Labor Organizer, 1199 Union
Prof. Daisy Cocco De Filippis, Department of Foreign Languages, York College
Mr. Augustín García, President of Dominican Chamber of Commerce in New York
Mr. Ana J. García Reyes, Director, Dominican Republic Study Abroad Program, City College
Ms. Ramona Hernández, Chair of Social Science Department, LaGuardia Community College
Dr. Rafael Lantigua, Board of Directors, Alianza Dominicana
Mr. Elvis Lockward, Office of the Registrar, Hostos Community College
Ms. Nancy López, Graduate Student, Adjunct of Social Sciences
Ms. Sintia Molina, Adjunct, Social Sciences Department, Brooklyn College
Dr. Luís Pelicot, Division of Student Services, Hostos Community College
Ms. Rosa Yolanda Pineda, Community Organizer
Mr. Nelson Reynoso, Counselor, Mental Health Services Center
Mr. Ydanis Rodríguez, Chair, Dominican Youth Union
Dr. Catherine Rovira, Chair, Foreign Languages Department, John Jay College
Mr. Anthony Stevens Acevedo, Assistant to Councilman Linares
Dr. Silvio Torres-Saillant, Coordinator, Dominican Study Institute, City College

Eastern European Panel - November 17, 1993

Prof. Alex Alexander, Division of Russian and Slavic Languages, Hunter College
Ms. Suzanna Davidson, Controller, American Counsel of Learned Societies
Prof. Bogdan Denitch, Department of Sociology, Graduate School and University Center
Prof. Emil Draister, Department of Romance Languages, Hunter College
Ms. Lucy Dusen, Counselor, Kingsborough Community College
Mr. Oleg Feygin, Student, Computer Science, Brooklyn College
Ms. Anat Greenberg, Director of Immigration, Jewish Community House
Ms. Albina Kaplan, Case Worker, New York Association for New Americans
Ms. Vera Leykina, Teacher, Sheepshead Bay High School
Ms. Awilda Mune, Teacher, Sheepshead Bay High School
Prof. Jonah Otelsberg, Department of Accounting and Business, York College
Prof. Janos Pach, Department of Computer Science, City College
Mr. Gennadiy Ryabinin, Physical Therapy, Kingsborough Community College
Prof. Milena Savova, Department of English, College of Staten Island
Ms. Florence Seiman, Program Director, Russian Bilingual Division, South Shore High School
Ms. Tassia Soodi, Head, New York Area Resettlement Office, International Rescue Commission
Mr. John Sutton, Director, Vocational Studies and Placement, New York Association for New Americans
Prof. Bohdan Szklarski, Department of Political Science, Hunter College
Prof. Stan Wikter, Department of Sociology, Mercy College
Prof. Naomi Woronov, Department of English, BMCC
Mr. Hratch Zadoian, Assistant Provost, Queens College

Israeli Panel - March 2, 1994

Prof. Moshe Banai, Department of Management, Baruch College
Ms. Tali Barukh, Student, B'nai B'rith Hillel, Queens College
Ms. Orna Eran, Student, Speech and Hearing Department, GSUC
Mr. Michael Feiner, Immigration Attorney
Prof. Ziva Flamhaft, Department of Political Science, Queens College
Prof. Rivka Freidman, Department of Hebrew Studies, Hunter College
Prof. Michel Gertner, ESL, Brooklyn College
Mr. Ted Gottesman, Financial Aid, Bronx Community College
Ms. Reginetta Haboucha, President's Office, Hunter College
Prof. Ariela Keysar, Department of Jewish Studies, The Graduate School and University Center
Mr. Oliver Klapper, Counselor, Kingsborough Community College
Ms. Hanina Lassar, Executive Director of B'nai B'rith Hillel/JACY
Dr. Lily Shahat, Chair, Department of Social Sciences, LaGuardia Community College
Prof. Mervin Verbit, Department of Sociology, Brooklyn College

Middle Eastern and Arab Panel, March 20, 1994

Prof. Ervand Abrahamian, Department of History, Baruch College
Mr. Nidal Abuasi, Islamic Society of Bay Ridge
Ms. Elsy Arieta-Padro, Student, LaGuardia Community College
Mr. Dawud Assad, President, Council of Mosques
Ms. Salwa Awad, Teacher, McKinnley I.S. 229
Mr. Rifat Erdinc Bagdadi, Deputy Attaché for Education, Turkish Consulate General
Ms. Emira Habiby-Brown, Founder and Executive Director of Arab American Family Support Center
Prof. Dina Dahbany-Miraglia, ESL, New York City Technical College
Mr. Amr El-Sabbagh, Student, Baruch College
Prof. Mohammad Fakhari, Division of Cooperative Education, LaGuardia Community College
Prof. Seyed-Ali Ghozati, Department of Computer Science, Queens College
Mr. Hassan A. Mahmoud, Department of Campus Facilities, Kingsborough Community College
Mr. Mojgan Keshtgar, Graduate Student, Environmental Science, College of Staten Island
Dr. Feredoun Mahaboudi, Scientific Advisor to the Ambassador, Iranian Mission to the UN
Prof. Faray Narpay, Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College
Dr. Paul Nassar, Clinical Psychiatrist
Dr. Rami Ramadan, President, American Arab Council
Dr. Ramine Rouhani, Managing Director, CDC Investment Management Corporation
Prof. Mohammad Soleymani, Department of Social Sciences, BMCC
Ms. Shereen Salam, American Arab Anti-Discrimination Group
Ms. Nermeen Soliman, Student, Kingsborough Community College
Prof. Mohamed Yousef, PSC Representative, College of Staten Island

South and Central American Panel-April 7, 1994

Ms. Giovanna Aguilar, Student, Hunter College
Ms. Elsy Areta-Padro, Acting Foreign Student Adviser, LaGuardia Community College
Ms. Dinorah Avolos, Legal Assistant, Northern Manhattan Coalition for Immigrant Rights
Ms. Patricia Calderón, Assistant to the President, New York City Technical College
Prof. Delia Cameo, Touro College
Ms. Sonia Cordona, Budget Analyst, CUNY
Ms. Perpetua Cuesta, International Education Consultant, Ecuadorian Cultural Exchange
Mr. Hugo Díaz, Attorney, Director of Foreign Affairs, NYS Federation of Hispanic Chambers of Commerce
Prof. Malve Filer, Deputy Chair, Department of Modern Languages, Brooklyn College
Mr. José Gutiérrez, Student, LaGuardia Community College
Ms. Paola Halhach, Student, Baruch College
Prof. Maurice Heywood, Director of Advisement and Articulation, Lehman College
Prof. Genaro Martín, Director of Bilingual Training, Lehman College
Prof. Jaime Montesinos, Department of Modern Languages, BMCC
Prof. Raphael Olivares, Elementary Education Coordinator, Queens College
Mr. Jesús Pérez, Student, Brooklyn College
Mr. Luís Pinto, Chairman, Department of Modern Languages, Bronx Community College
Prof. Dehly Porras, Department of Mathematics, LaGuardia Community College
Prof. Xavier Remigio, Coordinator of Student Services, Hunter College
Prof. Luís Renique, Department of History, Lehman College
Prof. Laura Sabani, Department of Modern Languages, Hostos Community College
Mr. Luís Sánchez, Student, Queens College
Mr. Ronald Schneider, Department of Political Science, Queens College
Mr. Juan Trillo, Attorney, Greater New York Latino Chamber of Commerce
Prof. Alejandro Varderri, Department of Modern Languages, BMCC
Ms. María Eugenia Villa, Chief of Communications, Colombian Consulate
Prof. George Yudice, Department of Romance Languages, Hunter College

Western European Panel - May 23, 1994

Ms. Vera Albrecht, Adjunct Lecturer of Philosophy, City College
Mr. Giuseppe Ammendola, Assistant Director, Columbus CUNY/Italy Exchange Program
Ms. Elsa Behr, German Information Center
Ms. Betty Bonn, Adjunct Lecturer of Geology and Geography, Hunter College
Prof. Alec Calamidas, Department of Graduate Studies, Baruch College
Prof. Effi Cochran, Department of Academic Skills, Baruch College
Mr. Louic Domain, Student, NY Paris Exchange Program, City College
Dr. Maxine Fisher, CUNY New York Paris Exchange Program, Queens College
Prof. Claire Huffman, Department of Modern Languages, Brooklyn College
Mr. Robert Ingenito, Associate Director, College NOW Program, Kingsborough CC
Mr. Tom Kirwan, Education Counselor, Emerald Isle Immigration Center
Ms. Catherine McKenna, Director of Irish Studies, Queens College
Prof. Roger Mesznik, Department of Accountancy, Baruch College
Mr. Francisco Ordonez, Student, Graduate School
Ms. Paula O'Sullivan, Case Worker, Project Irish Outreach, Catholic Charities
Mr. Nikolaos Papavassilious, Adjunct Lecturer of Computer Science, City College
Prof. Merce Pujol, Department of English, Hostos Community College
Ms. Anastasia Raptis, Office of Public Affairs, John Jay College
Prof. Micheaela Richter, Department of Political Science, College of Staten Island
Dr. Joseph Scelsa, Director, Italian American Institute
Ms. Careen Shannon, Attorney, Satterlee Stephens Burke & Burke

Puerto Rican Panel-June 29, 1994

Mr. Carlos Acevedo, Dean of Academic Affairs, Hostos Community College
Dr. Frank Bonilla, Executive Director, Inter-University Program for Latino Research, Hunter College
Mr. Luís R. Cancel, President and CEO, American Council of the Arts
Ms. Lorraine Cortés-Vásquez, Executive Director, ASPIRA of New York
Mr. Tomás Cruz, Student, Hostos Community College
Ms. Sandra Del Valle, Attorney, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund
Mr. Ángelo Falcón, President and Founder, Institute of Puerto Rican Policy and Research
Dr. Ricardo R. Fernández, President, Lehman College
Father Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Department of Sociology, Fordham University
Dr. Antonio Lauria, Director, Intercambio, Hunter College
Mr. Tony López, ASPIRA of New York
Dr. Ruth Lugo-Álvarez, Dean of Students, LaGuardia Community College
Ms. Idelisse Malave, Vice President, Ms. Foundation
Ms. Sylvia Miranda, Office of Affirmative Action, The City University of New York
Prof. Milga Morales-Nadal, Department of English, Brooklyn College
Prof. Antonio Nadal, Department of Puerto Rican Studies, Brooklyn College
Mr. Joseph Pereira, Director, Latino Urban Policy Initiative, Lehman College
Prof. Joseph Picón, Department of Business, Borough of Manhattan Community College
Ms. Anisia Quiñones, Dean of Students, New York City Technical College
Prof. Xavier Remigio, Coordinator of Student Services, Hunter College
Ms. Rosanna Rosado, Vice President for Public Affairs, NYC Health & Hospitals Corporation
Dr. Isaura Santiago-Santiago, President, Hostos Community College
Ms. Yolanda Sánchez, Executive Director, Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs
Dr. Anthony Stevens-Arroyo, Department of Puerto Rican Studies, Brooklyn College
Ms. Lourdes Torres, Director of Development, Hostos Community College

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Dr. Elsa Nuñez-Wormack, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs and University Dean for Academic Affairs
Mr. Jay Hershenson, Vice Chancellor for University Relations
Dr. Linda N. Edwards, Faculty Fellow, Office of Academic Affairs
Ms. Eve Zarin, Faculty Fellow, Office of Academic Affairs
Ms. Carol Ishikawa, Coordinator of Academic Information
Ms. Sandra Schaefer, Director of Community Relations

APPENDIX III

Further Research on Immigrant Communities

With support from Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds, Professors Mollenkopf and Kasinitz supervised a group of graduate students who compiled detailed profiles of 20 new and old immigrant ethnic groups in New York City during the Spring 1994. Subsequently, seven students were selected for intensive field work into immigrant communities during the summer of 1994 under the overall supervision of Professors Mollenkopf and Kasinitz with additional assistance from six other CUNY faculty mentors. These students conducted extensive interviews and have written up their research reports, which will be issued as working papers by the Center for Urban Research during the fall.

The summer projects complemented each other: one student, Melissa Levitt, Political Science, explored the Israeli immigrant business community, while another, Basima Asad, Sociology, examined the Palestinian immigrant community and their orientation towards homeland issues in the wake of the Middle East political accords. Dae Young Kim, a sociology graduate student born in Korea, who grew up in Paraguay, studied how Korean small business owners came to employ recent Mexican and other Central and South American immigrants in their enterprises. Another, Pauline Hermann of anthropology, who has 10 years' experience managing a Greek restaurant, interviewed Greek restaurant owners about their employment of Mexican and Central and South American immigrant kitchen workers.

Carol Archer, a political science student originally from Jamaica, interviewed both community leaders and the general Caribbean population about their attitudes towards a pan-Caribbean political identity, while Milagros Ricourt, a Dominican native who studied the emergence of a pan-Latino identity in Queens for her sociology doctorate, analyzed the leadership of the Dominican community in Washington Heights. Nancy López, a sociology graduate student of Dominican ancestry, engaged in participant observation among Dominican students in two Manhattan high schools to determine why they are dropping out of the school system at a high rate.

Professors Josh DeWind (Anthropology, Hunter), Joyce Gelb (Political Science, City College), William Kornblum (Sociology, GSUC), Robert Smith (Sociology, City College) , and Julia Wrigley (Sociology, GSUC) have joined Mollenkopf and Kasinitz in mentoring these projects.

Of the seven graduate students, six are female and six were born in the countries whose immigrant communities they are studying in New York. It is anticipated that their research reports will make a valuable contribution to the literature on new immigrant groups in New York City and how they are interacting with others in the workplace, in residential neighborhoods, and in the City's political life. These reports will be available in a working paper series at the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center.

APPENDIX IV

Countries and Territories in which Immigrant CUNY Students have Studied on the Secondary Level (1992)

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Anguilla
Antigua
Argentina
Aruba
Australia
Austria
Bahamas
Bangladesh
Barbados
Belgium
Belize
Bermuda
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burundi
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Chile
China
Colombia
Commonwealth of Independent States*
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
The former Czechoslovakia**
Denmark
Dominica
The Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
England
Estonia
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Gambia
Germany
Ghana
Greece
Grenada
Guadeloupe
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hong Kong
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea
Kuwait
Latvia
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Lithuania
Macau
Madagascar
Malaysia
Mali
Malta
Mexico
Montserrat
Morocco
Myanmar (Burma)
Nepal
The Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
The Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Saudi Arabia
Scotland
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sri Lanka
St. Kitts
St. Lucia
St. Martin
St. Vincent
Sudan
Suriname
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Taiwan
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad & Tobago
Turkey
Uganda
The United Arab Emirates
Uruguay
Venezuela
Vietnam
Yemen
The former Yugoslavia***
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

* Includes all countries and territories comprised in the former Soviet Union except Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.
** Includes the present Czech and Slovak Republics.
*** Includes the present-day republics of Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia.

APPENDIX TABLES

APPENDIX TABLE 1
IMMIGRATION PATTERNS

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
(1) Percent of NYC Population that is Foreign Born	37.0%	40.8%	36.1%	43.0%	28.7%	23.0%	20.0%	18.2%	23.6%	28.4%
(2) Total US Immigration Rate in Decade Ending with this Year (annual rate per thousand population)		10.4%	5.7%	3.5%	0.4%	0.7%	1.5%	1.7%	2.1%	3.1%

Sources:
(1) 1900-1980: Youssef (1992), Table 2.1; 1990: New York City, Department of City Planning (1993a).
(2) U.S. Bureau of the Census (1993), Table 5.

APPENDIX TABLE 2
RACIAL/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION
OF THE NEW YORK CITY POPULATION

	1980		1990		1980 to 1990
	Population	Distribution	Population	Distribution	Population Change
Total population	7,071,639	100.0%	7,322,564	100.0%	3.5%
White, Non-Hispanic	3,668,945	51.9%	3,163,125	43.2%	-13.8%
Black, Non-Hispanic	1,694,127	24.0%	1,847,049	25.2%	9.0%
Hispanic	1,406,024	19.9%	1,783,511	24.4%	26.8%
Asian	225,862	3.2%	512,719	7.0%	127.0%
Other	68,098	1.0%	21,157	0.3%	-68.9%

Sources:
New York City, Department of City Planning, (1983).
U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of Population. General Profile (STF-3A), Table P15.

APPENDIX TABLE 3
PANEL A: CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN

	Total University			Senior Colleges			Community Colleges		
	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992
US Citizen	77.7%	66.2%	63.7%	76.8%	68.2%	65.3%	79.4%	63.9%	62.0%
US Permanent Resident	21.4%	28.9%	31.3%	22.1%	27.2%	30.3%	20.0%	31.0%	32.4%
Non-Resident Alien	0.9%	3.3%	3.0%	1.1%	3.3%	2.8%	0.6%	3.2%	3.1%
Undocumented	-	1.6%	2.0%	-	1.3%	1.6%	-	1.9%	2.5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Respondents	25,121	25,808	25,105	16,392	13,882	12,769	8,729	11,926	12,336
Total First-time Freshmen	31,582	27,006	26,220	18,013	14,411	13,245	13,569	12,595	12,975

PANEL B: CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF CUNY NEW TRANSFER STUDENTS

	Total University			Senior Colleges			Community Colleges		
	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992	1980	1990	1992
US Citizen	78.0%	71.3%	61.9%	78.0%	73.4%	63.8%	77.4%	66.3%	57.7%
US Permanent Resident	18.5%	2.6%	28.4%	18.1%	18.5%	23.6%	22.1%	25.8%	32.5%
Non-Resident Alien	3.5%	7.2%	7.4%	3.9%	7.5%	7.7%	0.5%	6.8%	7.1%
Undocumented	-	0.8%	2.2%	-	0.7%	2.0%	-	1.1%	2.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Respondents	3,709	4,895	5,727	3,324	3,486	3,995	385	1,409	7,732
Total New Transfers	5,268	5,600	6,173	4,413	3,844	4,336	855	1,756	1,837

APPENDIX TABLE 4

COUNTRY OF IDENTITY OF CUNY NEW TRANSFER STUDENTS IN 1992, CONDENSED GROUPINGS

	Total University	Senior Colleges	Community Colleges
Africa	3.1	2.6	4.3
Asia	15.8	15.1	17.0
"Other" Caribbean	16.5	15.5	18.2
Dominican Republic	4.3	3.3	6.3
Eastern Europe	14.2	14.7	13.1
Italy	6.6	7.3	5.1
The Middle East	2.9	3.8	4.3
Mexico/South & Central America	6.6	6.1	7.2
Western Europe	15.1	17.7	9.5
USA, Australia, Canada,etc.	6.3	6.4	6.0
Puerto Rico	8.9	7.4	12.0

APPENDIX TABLE 5

COUNTRY OF IDENTITY OF NEW CUNY TRANSFER STUDENTS, CONDENSED GROUPINGS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1992

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born	Non US-Born	US-Born	NonUS-Born	US-Born	Non US-Born
Africa	2.1%	3.9%	1.4%	3.5%	3.8%	4.6%
Asia	3.5%	25.8%	3.6%	23.9%	3.7%	25.7%
"Other" Caribbean	8.2%	23.1%	7.5%	22.8%	9.5%	23.8%
Dominican Republic	3.0%	5.3%	2.4%	4.1%	4.5%	7.4%
Eastern Europe	7.3%	19.8%	8.1%	20.8%	5.1%	18.2%
Italy	13.9%	0.6%	14.7%	0.6%	12.7%	0.7%
Middle East	2.7%	3.2%	3.3%	4.2%	1.1%	1.2%
Mexico/South & Central America	4.1%	8.4%	3.6%	8.5%	5.5%	3.1%
Western Europe	27.4%	4.7%	30.8%	5.6%	19.2%	3.1%
USA, Australia, Canada	13.1%	0.7%	12.7%	0.7%	14.1%	0.7%
	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born	Mainland Born	Puerto Rican Born
Puerto Rico	14.7%	4.2%	12.0%	3.2%	21.4%	5.9%
Total Distribution	100.0%	99.7%	100.1%	97.9%	100.6%	94.4%
Total Respondents	1,657	2,012	1,189	1,298	468	714

APPENDIX TABLE 6
IMMIGRANT WAITING LIST BY COUNTRY, 1992 AND 1993

	1992 Total	1993 Total
Mexico	466,684	856, 228
Philippines	472,714	494,580
India	254,049	258,646
China - Mainland	181,143	188,533
Korea	118,949	124,355
China -Taiwan	122,284	117,838
Vietnam	109,276	101,085
The Dominican Republic	93,850	98,696
El Salvador	91,031	95,093
Jamaica	67,509	67,992
Hong Kong	63,737	65,342
Haiti	45,097	64,816
Pakistan	52,207	63,332
Guatemala	42,028	47,319
Guyana	46,658	45,504
Poland	63,467	42,661
All Others	633,082	661,173
Worldwide Total	2,923,765	3,393,193

APPENDIX TABLE 7
REFUGEES AND ASYLEES IN NYC, 1982-1989
TOP 20 SOURCE COUNTRIES

Rank	Countries	Number	Distribution
1	Soviet Union	7,929	22.8%
2	Romania	3,824	11.0%
3	Cuba	3,814	10.9%
4	Vietnam	3,708	10.6%
5	Poland	3,131	9.0%
6	Iran	2,500	7.2%
7	Afghanistan	2,380	6.8%
8.5	Cambodia	2,173	6.2%
8.5	Haiti	2,173	6.2%
10	Ethiopia	485	1.4%
11	Thailand	372	1.1%
12	Hungary	340	1.0%
13	Czechoslovakia	316	0.9%
14	China-Mainland	241	0.7%
15	Syria	152	0.4%
16	Albania	129	0.4%
17	Bulgaria	117	0.3%
18	Yugoslavia	105	0.3%
19	Laos	104	0.3%
20	Pakistan	68	0.2%
	Total above	34,061	97.7%
	All others	790	2.3%
	Overall Total	34,851	100.0%

Source: The Newest New Yorkers: An Analysis of Immigration into New York City During the 1980s (New York: Department of City Planning, 1992) Table 1.

APPENDIX TABLE 8
AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTIONS OF US-BORN AND NON US-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN, 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born
Total Sample	4,174	2,429	2,390	1,222	1,784	1,207
% Male	35.0%	39.0%	35.7%	41.8%	34.1%	36.2%
% Female	65.0%	61.0%	64.3%	58.2%	65.9%	63.8%
MALE DISTRIBUTION						
18 and below	50.2%	25.3%	61.7%	35.6%	34.2%	13.3%
19	18.0%	20.5%	15.7%	24.3%	21.2%	16.0%
20-22	16.8%	23.8%	11.6%	21.5%	24.1%	26.5%
23 and over	15.0%	30.4%	11.0%	18.6%	20.6%	44.2%
23-24	(4.6%)	(5.9%)	(3.4%)	(3.5%)	(6.2%)	(8.7%)
25-29	(4.9%)	(10.8%)	(3.0%)	(7.2%)	(7.6%)	(14.9%)
30-44	(4.9%)	(12.0%)	(4.0%)	(6.5%)	(6.1%)	(18.5%)
45+	(0.6%)	(1.7%)	(0.6%)	(1.4)	(0.7%)	(2.1%)
FEMALE DISTRIBUTION						
18 and below	0.535	0.289	0.656	0.423	0.376	0.165
19	0.153	0.166	0.126	0.207	0.189	0.129
20-22	0.129	0.192	0.092	0.186	0.178	0.199
23 and over	0.183	0.352	0.127	0.184	0.257	0.508
23-24	(3.4%)	(6.5%)	(2.4%)	(3.5%)	(4.8%)	(9.4%)
25-29	(5.6%)	(10.7%)	(3.3%)	(5.5%)	(8.5%)	(15.5%)
30-44	(7.8%)	(15.6%)	(5.7%)	(8.3%)	(10.6%)	(22.3%)
45+	(1.5%)	(2.4%)	(1.3%)	(1.1%)	(1.8%)	(3.6%)

APPENDIX TABLE 9
PARENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF US-BORN AND NON US-BORN
CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN, 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born
Mother						
Less than HS Diploma	33.0%	52.2%	31.6%	48.3%	34.7%	56.3%
HS Graduate	37.0%	23.2%	36.6%	23.6%	37.6%	22.9%
Post-Secondary Education	30.0%	24.5%	31.8%	28.2%	27.7%	20.7%
Total	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%
Total Respondents	4,048	2,310	2,341	1,171	1,707	1,139
Father						
Less than HS Diploma	36.4%	46.7%	34.8%	42.0%	38.5%	51.4%
HS Graduate	31.9%	21.1%	30.2%	20.5%	34.2%	21.6%
Post-Secondary Education	31.8%	32.2%	34.9%	37.4%	27.3%	27.0%
Total	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Respondents	3,601	2,156	2,107	1,088	1,494	1,068

APPENDIX TABLE 10
SELF-REPORTED NEED FOR SKILLS TUTORING OF
US-BORN AND NON US-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN IN 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born
Writing						
Needs Help	33.9%	65.4%	30.3%	64.7%	39.5%	66.4%
Doesn't Need Help	66.1%	34.6%	69.7%	35.3%	60.5%	33.6%
Reading/Study Skills						
Needs Help	28.8%	56.4%	25.0%	53.8%	34.4%	60.1%
Doesn't Need Help	71.2%	43.6%	75.0%	46.2%	65.6%	39.9%
Mathematics						
Needs Help	54.9%	51.9%	49.0%	43.5%	63.8%	62.7%
Doesn't Need Help	45.1%	48.1%	51.0%	56.5%	36.2%	37.3%
ESL						
Needs Help	5.7%	42.4%	3.9%	37.9%	8.4%	48.3%
Doesn't Need Help	94.3%	57.6%	96.1%	62.1%	91.6%	51.7%

APPENDIX TABLE 11
FOREIGN BORN STUDENTS' PERFORMANCE ON SKILLS TESTS
IN 1990, BY THEIR LENGTH OF STAY IN THE UNITED STATES

	LENGTH OF STAY IN THE US			
	0-2 Years	3-5 Years	6+ Years	Unspecified Yrs.
Total University				
Passed None	20.9%	33.3%	27.9%	27.9%
Passed Reading	34.0%	30.4%	52.2%	46.0%
Passed Writing	14.3%	16.2%	33.0%	22.7%
Passed Math	65.7%	49.8%	43.4%	37.6%
Passed All 3 Tests	8.5%	8.5%	16.1%	8.4%
Senior Colleges				
Passed None	15.6%	26.5%	20.6%	20.8%
Passed Reading	35.0%	34.3%	61.9%	50.5%
Passed Writing	16.5%	16.2%	36.1%	21.2%
Passed Math	79.7%	62.6%	58.6%	49.5%
Passed All 3 Tests	10.7%	10.0%	23.9%	9.9%
Community Colleges				
Passed None	25.6%	40.9%	35.6%	34.2%
Passed Reading	32.2%	25.5%	40.7%	40.9%
Passed Writing	12.0%	16.3%	29.6%	24.2%
Passed Math	53.3%	35.2%	27.4%	27.0%
Passed All 3 Tests	6.6%	6.9%	8.0%	7.0%

APPENDIX TABLE 12
DEGREE ASPIRATIONS OF US-BORN AND NON US-BORN CUNY FIRST-TIME FRESHMEN IN 1990

	Total University		Senior Colleges		Community Colleges	
	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born	US-Born (Excluding Puerto Rico)	Non US-Born and Puerto Rican-Born
None	0.3%	0.6%	0.2%	0.7%	0.5%	0.4%
Associates	8.9%	10.2%	4.2%	3.6%	15.2%	16.9%
Baccalaureate	32.4%	30.0%	31.9%	30.0%	32.9%	29.9%
Graduate or Professional	50.3%	50.5%	56.2%	57.4%	42.3%	43.4%
Don't Know	8.2%	8.8%	7.5%	8.2%	9.2%	9.4%
Total	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	100.0%
Total Known	4,105	2,388	2,358	1,202	1,747	1,186

APPENDIX TABLE 13

NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, POPULATION, SEX, HOUSEHOLD TYPE, AGE

Area and Country of Birth	Total Pop	1980s[a] Pop	Female Percent 1980s[a] Pop	Sgl Parent Percent 1980s[a] Pop	8-14 Years Old Total Pop	18-24 Years Old Total Pop
Africa	27,595	17,206	39.4%	28.8%	1,458	2,488
Asia[b]	364,088	228,450	48.9%	15.6%	20,104	39,326
China	115,976	66,059	50.0%	11.7%	4,532	9,259
Hong Kong	28,768	12,359	54.4%	16.9%	1,832	6,283
India	42,674	29,944	44.3%	12.1%	2,887	4,845
Philippines	37,307	22,460	63.4%	21.0%	2,086	2,730
Korea	57,555	40,194	49.5%	15.8%	3,931	6,742
Taiwan	19,842	13,161	50.8%	16.2%	1,252	2,389
Caribbean[b]	1,036,980	403,467	52.9%	45.5%	52,390	93,259
Dom. Rep.	226,560	121,334	53.0%	50.1%	15,355	30,932
Puerto Rico	365,270	76,179	52.9%	54.2%	16,400	25,042
Jamaica	116,100	54,578	53.8%	43.1%	7,091	14,007
Haiti	70,987	34,989	53.5%	44.0%	4,922	7,174
Guyana	73,846	48,855	53.0%	29.9%	6,705	10,739
Trinidad	58,212	23,915	53.4%	45.8%	3,206	6,119
Mexico/South & Central America[b]	326,102	173,830	47.2%	34.7%	25,229	53,194
Ecuador	60,119	28,917	44.6%	34.0%	3,169	7,591
Colombia	68,787	36,717	52.0%	36.2%	3,275	7,437
Western Europe[b]	295,762	48,769	45.1%	15.1%	4,218	16,270
Italy	101,651	7,413	40.2%	9.8%	836	4,273
E. & Ctl. Europe[b]	210,402	71,265	49.2%	14.4%	7,033	9,215
Poland	61,634	18,314	43.5%	20.5%	796	1,835
USSR.	80,333	37,788	52.9%	11.4%	4,287	4,711
Middle East[b]	70,272	35,609	41.0%	15.8%	3,546	6,627
Israel	22,024	10,735	42.7%	3.8%	1,973	2,330
Arab Countries	32,615	17,930	38.0%	22.3%	1,516	3,200

[a]Arrived after 1980 and by the time of the 1990 Census.
[b]Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 14

NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, ENGLISH ABILITY, CITIZENSHIP, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Area and Country of Birth	Speak English Not Well 1980s[a]	Citizens Pre-1980[b]	Ages 3-25 Not in School 1980s[a]	Age 25+ Coll Grad pre-80s[b]	Age 25+ Coll Grad 1980s[a]
Africa	6.8%	41.2%	32.6%	51.0%	32.5%
Asia[c]	36.0%	68.4%	26.0%	34.7%	33.9%
China	59.1%	72.9%	23.1%	14.7%	17.5%
Hong Kong	25.1%	82.3%	20.6%	40.9%	28.8%
India	13.0%	50.6%	27.9%	56.5%	48.3%
Philippines	4.5%	77.3%	24.2%	60.4%	69.2%
Korea	49.6%	64.4%	23.0%	45.8%	26.0%
Taiwan	31.6%	73.3%	11.4%	47.8%	49.6%
Caribbean[c]	24.7%	72.4%	35.1%	8.2%	7.9%
Dom. Rep.	52.2%	38.2%	40.7%	5.7%	6.3%
Puerto Rico	27.8%	100.0%	33.7%	3.8%	7.7%
Jamaica	0.1%	54.9%	32.9%	15.7%	11.1%
Haiti	23.6%	45.2%	26.0%	15.4%	8.6%
Guyana	0.8%	65.5%	33.2%	12.1%	7.1%
Trinidad	1.2%	37.0%	41.4%	13.1%	8.1%
Mexico/South & Central America[c]	41.6%	44.4%	48.7%	11.8%	10.7%
Ecuador	45.6%	31.0%	47.6%	7.8%	8.2%
Colombia	42.4%	41.0%	41.4%	10.0%	9.2%
Western Europe[c]	9.6%	71.6%	43.4%	13.4%	37.3%
Italy	21.2%	70.1%	41.2%	5.9%	23.7%
E. & Ctrl. Europe[c]	42.6%	87.2%	31.7%	17.0%	30.1%
Poland	45.2%	88.7%	37.7%	13.1%	22.8%
U.S.S.R.	48.0%	86.3%	30.5%	21.7%	34.0%
Middle East[c]	15.3%	74.3%	36.5%	30.8%	35.8%
Israel	6.3%	77.7%	31.1%	29.0%	37.2%
Arab Countries	19.2%	78.1%	38.7%	27.4%	34.9%

[a]Arrived after 1980 and by the time of the 1990 Census.
[b]Arrived before 1980.
[c]Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 15

NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, POVERTY, HOUSEHOLD INCOME, NUMBER OF WORKERS IN THE FAMILY, MALES AND FEMALES NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE

Area and Country of Birth	Poverty[a] 1980s[b]	Poverty[a] Pre-1980[c]	HHincom > 40,000 Pre-1980[c]	Families 3+ Workers 1980s[b]	Males 16-65 Not in LbF 1980s[b]	Females 16-65 Not in LbF 1980s[b]
Africa	21.1%	11.4%	46.0%	12.9%	12.8%	32.9%
Asia[d]	19.8%	10.5%	53.5%	25.6%	20.1%	39.6%
China	25.0%	14.5%	42.2%	35.8%	23.8%	38.1%
Hong Kong	15.7%	6.8%	58.2%	41.0%	21.7%	34.2%
India	13.4%	7.1%	67.8%	23.0%	16.7%	44.5%
Philippines	6.9%	3.7%	73.0%	23.5%	19.3%	13.6%
Korea	20.3%	11.4%	52.3%	19.3%	17.5%	45.2%
Taiwan	18.7%	10.3%	57.8%	15.4%	32.9%	47.6%
Caribbean[d]	30.1%	25.5%	33.3%	23.2%	24.3%	40.1%
Dom. Rep.	35.6%	32.5%	27.2%	25.4%	25.0%	45.4%
Puerto Rico	50.9%	33.8%	23.7%	9.2%	34.7%	63.8%
Jamaica	16.1%	12.0%	51.5%	26.6%	22.9%	26.1%
Haiti	22.6%	14.3%	46.8%	25.8%	18.7%	27.1%
Guyana	15.6%	10.8%	48.2%	36.7%	19.9%	31.6%
Trinidad	25.4%	12.4%	49.4%	19.6%	25.3%	29.3%
Mexico/South & Central America[d]	22.0%	14.7%	39.9%	26.1%	13.1%	38.8%
Ecuador	20.5%	16.4%	37.9%	30.3%	11.7%	39.5%
Colombia	18.4%	15.6%	39.4%	26.1%	13.3%	37.2%
Western Europe[d]	13.8%	9.6%	45.5%	10.2%	15.1%	37.5%
Italy	15.0%	10.1%	42.9%	16.6%	18.4%	56.3%
E. & Ctl. Europe[d]	35.0%	13.0%	38.5%	8.2%	26.7%	45.7%
Poland	18.0%	11.5%	36.9%	12.0%	14.1%	31.6%
U.S.S.R.	50.4%	17.3%	36.0%	4.6%	40.5%	57.0%
Middle East[d]	25.1%	15.5%	49.0%	7.0%	20.6%	61.8%
Israel	29.9%	19.1%	49.2%	4.5%	24.7%	56.6%
Arab Countries	22.2%	13.7%	47.2%	8.8%	17.2%	61.7%

[a]"Poverty" is defined as those individuals living in households with income less than or equal to the poverty threshold as defined in the PUMS Technical Documentation [U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990].
[b]Arrived after 1980 and by the time of the 1990 Census.
[c]Arrived before 1980.
[d]Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 16

FEMALE NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR FORCE ARRIVED IN 1980S BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION

Area and Country of Birth	Industry					Occup	
	Constr	Dur NonDur Manuf	Retail	Finance Ins R.E.	Health	Manager & Profess	Operat
Africa	1.3%	5.2%	10.3%	12.1%	28.5%	26.4%	2.1%
Asia*	0.5%	25.2%	16.4%	9.5%	17.9%	26.5%	21.3%
China	0.6%	55.9%	11.1%	5.9%	3.2%	10.0%	50.8%
Hong Kong	0.9%	18.7%	7.2%	27.3%	6.7%	27.4%	16.9%
India	0.3%	7.8%	13.9%	13.6%	34.7%	28.4%	7.3%
Philippines	0.8%	3.8%	8.1%	8.8%	54.4%	57.5%	2.0%
Korea	0.0%	15.2%	37.7%	5.0%	7.2%	15.8%	10.6%
Taiwan	0.7%	13.8%	15.8%	12.8%	8.3%	36.3%	5.4%
Caribbean*	0.6%	16.6%	14.4%	8.9%	21.8%	13.3%	14.2%
Dom. Rep.	1.0%	34.4%	18.6%	3.2%	12.3%	6.8%	33.5%
Puerto Rico	0.5%	18.4%	13.5%	5.0%	15.6%	22.1%	14.3%
Jamaica	0.3%	5.3%	13.3%	9.9%	32.2%	20.8%	2.8%
Haiti	0.3%	12.2%	11.0%	5.7%	34.0%	10.8%	12.9%
Guyana	0.6%	12.5%	13.5%	15.3%	21.2%	11.5%	8.2%
Trinidad		5.4%	11.1%	11.9%	23.2%	15.3%	1.7%
Mexico/South & Central America*	0.5%	25.7%	16.1%	6.0%	9.4%	9.9%	22.5%
Ecuador	0.8%	39.8%	16.6%	4.5%	8.1%	6.0%	31.8%
Colombia	0.5%	21.6%	20.2%	5.4%	6.9%	7.1%	20.0%
Western Europe*	1.5%	7.3%	16.1%	11.6%	11.9%	37.5%	2.7%
Italy	8.1%	5.1%	19.7%	11.4%	8.1%	38.5%	7.2%
E. & Ctl. Europe*	1.8%	14.2%	11.5%	10.7%	14.0%	21.8%	9.9%
Poland	2.5%	15.9%	11.8%	9.1%	11.3%	13.4%	12.7%
U.S.S.R.	2.1%	9.4%	9.5%	12.4%	18.8%	22.8%	5.9%
Middle East*	1.6%	6.0%	21.5%	12.1%	12.9%	36.8%	3.8%
Israel	0.0%	3.1%	14.2%	7.5%	6.1%	46.9%	3.1%
Arab Countries	3.3%	5.0%	28.5%	12.2%	18.9%	35.1%	3.1%

*Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 17

MALE NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR FORCE ARRIVED IN THE 1980S BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION

Area and Country of Birth	Industry					Occup	
	Constr	Dur NonDur Manuf	Retail	Finance Ins R.E.	Health	Mngr & Profess	Operat
Africa	4.1%	8.5%	14.8%	6.9%	10.1%	29.5%	24.6%
Asia*	6.0%	12.8%	33.0%	7.7%	5.0%	21.4%	19.5%
China	6.3%	17.0%	47.3%	3.6%	1.6%	13.3%	20.9%
Hong Kong	5.1%	15.6%	18.4%	10.5%	4.3%	27.1%	18.3%
India	6.8%	11.4%	19.1%	11.4%	10.8%	32.3%	17.4%
Philippines	5.5%	9.0%	8.5%	14.5%	24.7%	31.4%	9.8%
Korea	5.3%	11.3%	41.0%	4.7%	1.7%	21.2%	19.2%
Taiwan	1.4%	12.1%	26.3%	13.2%	3.1%	24.3%	12.0%
Caribbean*	9.9%	16.0%	19.5%	7.4%	4.8%	10.5%	28.7%
Dom. Rep.	6.9%	19.6%	30.8%	3.9%	2.2%	6.7%	35.1%
Puerto Rico	9.5%	17.4%	18.9%	6.3%	5.9%	12.4%	25.9%
Jamaica	16.2%	8.2%	13.1%	10.6%	6.5%	12.8%	23.3%
Haiti	3.0%	19.8%	11.0%	2.6%	5.8%	10.1%	40.2%
Guyana	8.9%	16.8%	15.2%	14.8%	3.5%	12.1%	23.7%
Trinidad	17.8%	12.2%	10.6%	7.0%	6.3%	10.4%	25.1%
Mexico/South & Central America*	10.6%	19.0%	31.6%	5.5%	1.7%	8.2%	30.1%
Ecuador	8.7%	23.0%	35.6%	3.5%	0.8%	3.7%	30.9%
Colombia	12.0%	17.8%	23.5%	5.3%	1.7%	9.3%	33.0%
Western Europe*	19.8%	7.4%	15.9%	15.7%	2.4%	37.4%	13.2%
Italy	20.7%	8.2%	26.2%	10.7%	1.9%	31.1%	18.9%
E. & Ctrl. Europe*	20.7%	15.7%	12.7%	8.9%	3.9%	21.9%	16.6%
Poland	33.1%	14.6%	9.2%	7.1%	1.7%	13.0%	19.2%
USSR	7.4%	20.7%	15.9%	6.9%	5.2%	26.5%	16.8%
Middle East*	7.2%	6.7%	35.1%	7.9%	3.4%	27.3%	12.9%
Israel	12.0%	9.6%	21.1%	10.6%	2.6%	31.9%	6.8%
Arab Countries	5.1%	5.3%	42.9%	7.0%	4.4%	23.6%	16.9%

*Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

APPENDIX TABLE 18

NEW YORK CITY IMMIGRANTS BY AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BOROUGH OF RESIDENCE

Area and Country of Birth	Bronx	Manhattan	Staten Island	Brooklyn	Queens
Africa	26.0%	23.1%	4.8%	27.6%	18.7%
Asia[a]	6.1%	21.6%	3.1%	21.6%	47.6%
China	3.0%	32.9%	1.2%	32.2%	30.6%
Hong Kong	1.7%	25.8%	2.9%	33.0%	36.5%
India	8.8%	8.4%	5.7%	13.3%	63.9%
Philippines	7.9%	19.4%	6.0%	14.0%	52.7%
Korea	7.8%	8.1%	4.4%	9.8%	70.0%
Taiwan	2.2%	13.7%	4.5%	4.4%	75.2%
Caribbean[a]	26.9%	18.9%	1.0%	35.8%	17.4%
Dom. Rep.	27.3%	41.6%	0.3%	16.2%	14.6%
Puerto Rico	40.3%	18.4%	1.4%	29.7%	10.2%
Jamaica	26.8%	4.0%	0.7%	45.1%	23.5%
Haiti	1.5%	5.6%	0.4%	66.6%	26.0%
Guyana	14.0%	1.7%	0.7%	47.5%	36.2%
Trinidad	7.4%	5.6%	0.7%	67.9%	18.4%
Mexico/South & Central America[a]	13.3%	14.4%	1.4%	25.4%	45.6%
Ecuador	13.8%	16.9%	0.5%	22.9%	45.9%
Colombia	3.3%	9.1%	1.5%	12.7%	73.5%
Western Europe[a]	12.5%	20.3%	4.6%	25.2%	37.4%
Italy	14.0%	6.7%	7.6%	38.0%	33.7%
E. & Ctrl. Europe[a]	7.0%	11.9%	2.2%	46.7%	32.2%
Poland	6.5%	12.9%	2.3%	50.5%	27.8%
USSR	6.2%	7.9%	2.2%	59.7%	23.9%
Middle East[a]	4.0%	18.0%	4.2%	39.1%	34.6%
Israel	2.7%	17.1%	4.5%	52.8%	22.9%
Arab Countries	4.5%	14.6%	5.0%	41.3%	34.0%

[a]Includes other countries in the region which are not listed.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, Public Use Microdata Sample.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

The City University of New York is the nation's leading public urban university. It comprises ten senior colleges, six community colleges, a technical college, a graduate school, a law school, a medical school and an affiliated school of medicine. With a full-time teaching faculty of 6,000 and more than 77 research centers and institutes, the City University ranks among the country's major research institutions.

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